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Anticipations of Change: A Socio-Economic Description of a Kentucky County Before Reservoir Construction

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Research Report No. 28

ANTICIPATIONS OF CHANGE: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC
DESCRIPTION OF A KENTUCKY COUNTY
BEFORE RESERVOIR CONSTRUCTION

Charles Robert Smith

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ABSTRACT

In the past the construction of large reservoirs in the United States has been evaluated largely in terms of the economic benefit they bring to the area where they are constructed and to the nation. Where human populations are involved, however, a host of social changes occur, many of which fundamentally alter the way of life of a people.

This report is part of a larger study which aims at analyzing the social costs and benefits of reservoir construction. The project is long range in that studies are to be carried out before, during, and after construction. This report concentrates on the social and economic description of a rural county before reservoir construction by the United States Corps of Engineers.

The major findings in this study point to the preconstruction impact that the reservoir has on people. It was found that the very idea of a potential reservoir affects the integration of a community and differentially affects the individuals within that community. Finally, this study emphasizes the need for social science research in planned change programs such as the construction of reservoirs in populated areas.

KEY WORDS: Planning, attitudes, human population, social impact, social change, social values.

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construction, intense social stratification, and expansionist warfare (Sanders 1968: 18).

There are a number of ecological conditions which have stimulated urban settlements and the development of political institutions. Among them are the geographic location of settlements near waterways which can be used for transportation routes and the utilization of water basins for agricultural production. Also artificial irrigation helps to insure a supply of water during those periods when rainfall is insufficient, and it is through this capturing of excess water or the control of flooding that agriculture attains higher productivity (Wittfogel 1968: 186).

The control and management of water resources, however, then becomes a factor in the social organization of a people, for whoever controls the water resource has in his possession a powerful weapon for insuring social control. If, for instance, an individual fails to conform to the demands of the political institutions, his supply of water may be taken from him or the mere threat of withdrawal will force him to give in to the demands of those who control the water (Childe 1951: 90).

The utilization of water for agriculture, therefore, brought with it dramatic changes in the social life of the people involved. When food production had increased human population and made leisure possible, civilization, according to Redfield (1953: 5), "was bound to come about." Food production, as mentioned before, freed individuals from food-seeking activities and allowed for

specilization in other areas of life. It was the food-producing revolution that perhaps was the "turning point in the human career," and it was through the urban revolution "that the consequences of the turn were realized" (Redfield 1953: 6).

Thus, throughout the course of human history the utilization and control of water resources has been a priority of utmost concern to man. There has been no less concern with water resources in the history of the United States.

The United States Continental Congress in 1775 authorized the establishment of the Corps of Engineers. This original Corps was disbanded in 1783, and the present Corps of Engineers originated in 1802 (Mass 1951: 20). Since that time the civil duties of the Corps have continued without interruption. The first river and harbor bill was enacted in 1826, and the Corps has since that date been charged with all navigation improvements and most of the flood control projects undertaken by the National Government (Leyson 1943: 124).

Initially the reservoir construction projects of the Corps were concerned with flood control, but since 1936 its projects have focused on multi-purpose goals (Mass 1951: 259). Multi-purpose reservoir construction is based on the premise that they offer a solution to many of man's problems. It is assumed, for instance, that impounded waters may be released at periods of water shortages to maintain stream flow, and during heavy run off periods they store water in order to prevent flooding. Reservoirs are also considered

to be a partial solution to increased recreational needs in this country as incomes rise and the work week shortens. In some areas the impounded waters are seen as a means for rapid economic development since the dams are often utilized as a source of hydro-electric power. Moreover, the irrigation of geponic crops is made possible, and the reservoir provides the medium for hydroponic crops and fish hatcheries. Those who argue that dams and the resultant reservoirs offer a short-cut to rapid economic development point to such projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority as examples of this economic growth potential (Oliver 1967: 29-30; Banner 1967: 128).

In the past the values of such projects have been measured in terms of the economic benefit brought to the area and the nation. The concept 'cost-benefit analysis' has specifically focused on the dollar impact of the reservoir, but with the coming of the multi-purpose approach to dam construction there came an increased awareness that these projects do not occur in isolation. Reservoirs are constructed in a social setting, and as a result they affect all areas of life (Sheldon and Moore 1966: 186-87). "A seamless web: the unity of land and water and men" (Mass 1951: 259).

It has been demonstrated that newly impounded waters alter the ecology of the immediate vicinity. Organisms, for instance, which previously were not able to survive can possibly overpopulate an area after reservoir construction, causing new diseases to man and animals. What was once thought to simply be an engineering project, the building of dams is now seen as a complex

interaction of man with his environment and the struggle for survival occurring among life once the change has taken place. In the new environment caused by stream control measures, the fauna and flora struggle to create a new balance among themselves. The fittest survive and even thrive. Those not pre-adapted struggle briefly and are eliminated (Krumholz 1968: 1). The same holds true among the human populations when such measures are implemented.

A sudden increase in population, for example, affects the social organization of a society which must be coped with. A great influx of immigrants to an area resulting from the stimulus of a reservoir causes internal problems which are not easily solved. New ideas and values are brought in - ideas foreign to the native population which often clash with existing modes of thought. The struggle between the fauna and flora is analogous to the struggle between people and ideas in the total configuration of a society. A sudden change of this nature can be extremely disruptive to a society.

Moreover, man-made reservoirs often force the relocation of people who reside in the area to be flooded, and 'forced relocation' implies that the people involved are not particularly desirous of changing their residence patterns. It is easy to understand that this is the only home they have ever known and that there are a complicated series of objects and events which make this place 'home' and which give the individual a sense of security and psychological well-being. When forced to leave this situation in which the cues are familiar to an entirely new environment, undesirable results often occur.

Mental illness and even death sometimes follow (Brokensha 1963: 287; Henry 1963: 23-24; Cottrell 1951: 358; Scudder 1968: 171).

Any stream control measure, large or small cannot be viewed in isolation. When human populations are involved, interference of this nature causes a host of what has been termed "unanticipated consequences" (Foster 1962: 79) which, in this instance, may be viewed as the social and cultural reactions to intervention by the Government in the construction of reservoirs. These unanticipated consequences are largely the result of a lack of multi-disciplinary research and planning connected with reservoir construction and could be 'anticipated' if such research were carried out. Be that as it may, conflict in the social organization is inevitable with the construction of reservoirs (Leuchtenburg 1953: 1), and this is due to the fact that the culture is integrated and the government is intervening into this integrated system.

'Cultural Integration' is a concept fundamental to a study of social and cultural behavior. In essence, it refers to the interrelatedness of the various institutions (Malinowski 1945: 50) within a community. The institutions possess some form of organization within themselves, but they also articulate with the external social environment - other institutions. The degree of articulation varies from one institution to another, but the concept implies some interrelatedness however small it may be.

This concept, therefore, is applicable to directed change situations such as the construction of reservoirs, for it implies that change in one aspect

will lead to change in others. This does not mean that each aspect will be affected equally. Rather, it means that interpersonal and inter-institutional relations will be affected to some degree when change occurs in one area of the culture.

Furthermore, in any given community there are one or more institutions which tend to pervade the society more than others. These institutions serve the important function of integrating the whole. In certain modern communities the integrating institutions may be economic, while in other communities the political institutions give "form and cohesion to their multiple parts" (Warner 1941: 35). In fact, there are numerous possibilities for integrating a community, as shall be brought out in this study.

Yet, as mentioned before, cost-benefit analysis of Government projects has been related to only one goal of the project - economic efficiency; and since such projects affect virtually all areas of life in a given location, such analysis is largely irrelevant, or "relevant to only a small part of the problem of evaluating public projects and programs" (Mass 1966: 312).

In recent years there has been an increased awareness of the need for more comprehensive research in water resources in the United States, and in 1964 President Johnson implemented the Water Resources Research Act, thereby establishing a medium where a multi-disciplinary approach to the study of water resources may be carried out. This one act has proved to be a great stimulus to research on water resources; and research has been carried out by

engineers, political scientists, sociologists, economists, geographers, anthropologists, biologists, and other related disciplines.

Sheldon and Moore (1966: 186) emphasize the need for additional social science research in connection with directed social change. They suggest that we are rapidly becoming a society which is committed to some form of directed change, and since such change occurs in a social setting, it is most important that there be a "viable marriage of social science and national policy formulation." Hopefully the research conducted by the various disciplines mentioned above will fill the now existing gap between the economic benefits and the effects of water management on the total culture of the people directly and indirectly involved.

Cultural anthropologists have much to offer in water resources research. They take as their primary referrent the concept 'culture' which refers to the behavior patterns that are learned, shared, transmitted, and symbolically derived. It is the 'social heredity' of man and is distinct from those biological factors which are inherited. Among other things, cultural anthropologists study particular cultures in order to better understand human social and cultural behavior. They view in microcosm particular societies so as to discern how the various parts are inter-related and function to maintain the whole and satisfy individual needs. The ultimate goal of this knowledge, as Linton (1948: 18) noted, is to "...ascertain the processes and continuities involved in the phenomena with which it deals with a view to the prediction of events and ultimately to their control."

In Kentucky the United States Corps of Engineers has plans for constructing a number of multi-purpose reservoirs within the next few years, and it is anticipated that these areas will be suitable to the study of accelerated cultural change. In order to study all the possible ramifications of such changes, however, a base must be established from which change may be measured. The research, in other words, must begin prior to intervention in order to make predictions regarding the changes in the area and to accurately measure the impact of the reservoir over a long period of time (Smith 1966: 507; Scudder 1968: 169; Brokensha 1963-64: 290).

With this in mind, the Department of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, proposed to the Water Resources Research Institute that an anthropological study be made of three drainage areas in Kentucky which are presently under consideration for stream control projects. The long range goal of this project is to study the three areas for an extended period of time beginning at the preconstruction stage and continuing well beyond the actual completion of the reservoirs. The ultimate aim of the study is to determine the social costs and benefits of the reservoirs on the areas involved (Dobyns 1968: 2). From such an analysis, predictions may be made with greater accuracy in succeeding cases of reservoir construction. More immediate benefits from the study should come from the analysis of data regarding the social organization, attitudes and reactions of the resident community to the proposed reservoirs which will be available to administrators and could prove helpful in the formulation of policy.

Phase I and Phase II of the anthropological study focus on the gathering of baseline data from the three drainage areas. This stage of the study is most important, as an accurate recording of existing conditions is necessary in order to have the base from which comparisons may be made in the future. One primary goal is to develop possible 'social indicators' which quantifiably measure the goals and values of the areas under study (Dobyns 1968: 12). Quantification is viewed as an important aspect of the study, for in the re-study it would be most difficult for the researcher to compare the then conditions with general value judgments made in the base study.

In keeping with the overall goals of the anthropological research mentioned above, the goals of this analysis are two fold:

1. Baseline data from one of the drainage areas, Walnut County and the Black River Basin, shall be delineated. As mentioned above, baseline datum is most important in a temporal comparative approach - the approach fundamental to this anthropological study. Historical data shall be kept at a minimum, and emphasis will be placed on the time period since the Corps of Engineers began studies on the reservoir construction five years ago.

2. The second aspect of the study will focus on the incipient impact of the reservoir on the people in Walnut County. The proposed reservoir is now a vital part of the way of life in the county. Research in the area early revealed that the very idea of the construction of a reservoir has appreciably altered or channeled the thinking of the majority of residents in Walnut

County. The pros and cons of its construction are a common point of discussion when people get together. Because of its importance, a separate chapter in this study will focus on the effects of the reservoir on the people in the county, and the residents' perceptions of social and economic costs and benefits will be discussed.

The significance of such a study as proposed here comes primarily from comparing this datum with future studies which will attempt to measure the social costs and benefits of the reservoir on the community. Directed change projects such as the construction of reservoirs provide a "laboratory" for social scientists from which they can test hypotheses and develop new concepts and tools relevant to culture change (Smith 1966: 504; Brokensha 1963: 290; Scudder 1968: 169). The general ethnographic data and the incipient impact of the anticipated reservoir should be suitable to such an analysis. This is not to say that immediate practical benefits cannot be derived from the study. On the contrary, while gathering baseline data and in learning of the incipient impact of the reservoir on the people in Walnut County, much data immediately relevant to the planners and administrators concerned with reservoir construction came to the fore. Such data are included in this analysis, and practical suggestions will be made throughout the text.

CHAPTER II

WALNUT COUNTY - GENERAL DESCRIPTION

A. The Setting.

Walnut County was formed from parts of several other counties in the early part of the 1800's and is located in the midst of rolling hills in central Kentucky. In the early years after its formation the population grew rapidly and settlements throughout the county began to expand. The rich bottom lands were ideal for tobacco and corn, and the hillsides were suitable for cattle grazing. These factors, plus the abundance of limestone, provided an adequate income for its inhabitants.

In 1870, the population had grown to 5,956 and by 1880 it had reached 7,040. At this time there were seven firmly established settlements in various parts of the county, and these settlements and their surrounding areas had grown considerably, and institutions were diverse. 'Settlement' here refers to a rather large geographical area which had a place name and which had at least one nucleated village that served as a service center for the predominantly rural population. The majority of institutions were located in the service center, but were not restricted to this area. Churches and rural businesses were spread throughout the settlement area. Table I shows the institutional differentiation in

1880 for the seven settlements. The population of these settlement areas in 1880 is given in Table II.

In addition to the institutional differentiation that was taking place at that time, roads were being improved, as there were five toll roads that crisscrossed the county, leading, of course, to improved communication between the county's various parts. The population noted above was scattered throughout the county, and even though the seven above mentioned settlements were growing in institutions, the residents were still predominantly located on farms in the county. Homes were built along creek bottoms and in proximity to farm lands wherever they might be.

As the roads and means of transportation continued to improve, the gradual trend toward centralization began and has continued till the present day when a map of Walnut County looks something like a jigsaw puzzle, and the homes are now situated primarily along roads and in Leveetown. There are still a number of homes which are located in creek bottoms off the paved roads, but these are generally old homes and the owners have moved since they were constructed. Those that continue to be occupied are occupied by tenant farmers of the previous inhabitants.

The centralization of institutions is vividly portrayed by making a comparison of the institutional differentiation between 1882 and 1968. Table III illustrates this sharp contrast.

TABLE I
INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION - 1880

<u>Settlement Area</u>	<u>Number of Institutions</u>
Leveetown	32
Northville	13
Milltown	14
Campgrounds	11
Blue Creek	32
Blackbottom	11
Small Ridge	16

TABLE II
SETTLEMENT POPULATION - 1880

<u>Settlement Area</u>	<u>Population</u>
Leveetown	1,689
Northville	1,085
Milltown	767
Campgrounds	967
Blue Creek	1,117
Blackbottom	628
Small Ridge	787

TABLE III
INSTITUTIONAL DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN 1882 AND 1968

<u>Settlement Area</u>	<u>Number of Institutions</u>		
	<u>1882</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>Change</u>
Leveetown	32	82	+50
Northville	13	5	- 8
Milltown	14	1	-13
Campgrounds	11	0	-11
Blue Creek	32	3	-29
Blackbottom	11	0	-11
Small Ridge	16	2	-14
TOTAL	<u>129</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>-36</u>

Walnut County is still predominately a farming community, but due to improved roads and means of transportation, economic institutions have centralized. At the same time the population has decreased to less than 6,000. Today the county is continuing to lose population due to mechanization, an increase in farm size, and the lack of available employment opportunities to be found in the county.

One reason that the county population has failed to grow is its geographical location. It has virtually been isolated from interstate travel, as the county is located well away from the main highways in Kentucky. As a result, there is no tourist or industrial attraction that would cause outsiders to want to travel through the county. Transportation in the county today is slow because of the winding roads and the many pieces of farm equipment that travel them. The natural beauty of the countryside has apparently not been sufficient to draw outsiders into the county.

Leveetown presently has a population of less than 1,000. It is located in the center of the county and is surrounded by hills. The central location of the town probably accounts for the primacy it holds in the county today.

The location of Leveetown in a valley and at the forks of two rivers has caused much damage in the past due to periodic flooding, but the Federal Government surrounded the town with a levee in 1948, and there has been no major flood since that time. There is always the threat of the high waters coming over the levee, however, and town residents can easily recall those

years when the waters approached within one or two feet from the top of the flood wall. The prospect of flooding, however, has not been entirely eliminated for during heavy periods of rain, water runs down the surrounding hills into the town and has no outlet when the rivers swell. During these periods the Corps of Engineers and local farmers bring in their pumps and irrigation equipment to move the excess water over the top of the levee. Flooding has not been prevented by the levee-only the degree and regularity has been controlled.

The main state highway bisecting the county runs through the settlement of Leveetown. Various businesses and churches are situated on either side of this road. There is one stop light on this street, which tends to slow the traffic down. In the center of town, partially hidden behind two large shade trees, is the county court house--a focal point in town. Rarely is one able to pass the court house without seeing the "court house crew" sitting on the benches in front, whittling down pieces of wood to shavings.

Behind the court house is the county jail and behind the jail is the volunteer fire station with city hall located above it. The 'city hall' sign was painted free hand and lacks the professionalism so noted in urban settlements.

Tractors, pick-up trucks, and old and new model cars usually are parked at the recently added parking meters. Most vehicles either are visibly connected with farm activities or are relatively new automobiles demonstrating the affluence of the farming and business community.

A few years ago the main street in town was widened, and many of the shops received a face-lifting. The buildings are constructed primarily of brick, many being two story, with Coca Cola signs advertising the names of many of the establishments. The main businesses which meet the eyes upon arrival in town are the bank, the drug store, the grocery store, the pool hall, the closed movie theater, the beauty shop, the funeral home, the restaurant, the farm implement shop, the hardware store, the department store, and the coin operated laundry.

Business in town generally begins between 7:00 and 9:00 A. M. and stops between 5:00 and 9:00 P. M. The amount of business conducted in town is determined by the time of the day, the day of the week, the season, and the weather. On rainy days business is heavy because the farmers are unable to work and come to town. Mondays and Saturdays are the most productive for most businesses, and early mornings and late evenings will find the most people in town. Business also picks up when commuters receive their checks in Big Town, when dairymen receive their monthly milk checks, and when farmers harvest and sell their crops. Probably the busiest time of the year is when the farmers sell their tobacco crops and begin making purchases for Christmas. During the summer months the days are longer, and the farmers come to town after 4:00 P. M. and often stay beyond 9:30 P. M. This accounts for the late operating hours for most of the businesses during the summer. Coming to town, however, does not necessarily mean that purchases will be made.

Rather, Leveetown is a focal point in the county - a place where friends meet on the street or in local restaurants to share pleasantries or discuss the weather and farm problems.

Other recreational activities are available in town as a local hillbilly band occasionally plays in the vacant parking lot in the center of town during the summer months, and large crowds mingle around visiting with friends and enjoying the music. "We all know everybody in Walnut County. This has its good and bad sides." Everyone is most friendly and outsiders are immediately noticed out and singled out.

There is a wide range in the level of sophistication in dress patterns in Walnut County. More affluent business members of the community and county government officials usually wear a white shirt and tie, but the predominant dress is casual. Farmers often wear their coveralls to town, but the young people generally "keep up" with the latest styles. Dress patterns, of course, are partially determined according to the relative position of the individual in the community.

In this brief survey of Walnut County the most important aspect of the way of life is notably the closeness of the interpersonal relations and the centralization of institutions and recreational activities. The county population is relatively small, and by far the majority of the residents are native born and are reared there. The range of friendships and acquaintances, therefore, is very wide and there is a strong sense of pride which comes from being a Walnut County resident.

B. Walnut County as Unit of Analysis.

Walnut County residents more often refer to themselves as county residents as opposed to particular settlement residents within the county. It is true that there are settlements which have place names throughout the country, as has been mentioned, but the settlement name is a carry-over from the days when the particular settlements possessed a variety of institutions and greater populations. As noted before, institutions and many individuals have moved to a central location in the county leaving primarily settlement place names and a rural population.

The one exception to institutional centralization is the rural church; however, the members of the various churches are not necessarily residents of the vicinity where the church is located. In this instance, the members have moved to the central city yet maintain their membership in the rural church and commute to this church for services.

Redfield (1967: 4) offers as one criterion for community, "self-sufficiency... a cradle to the grave arrangement." This is true in Walnut County, possibly with the exception of the birth of children. Years ago the country doctor was the person responsible for bringing children into the world and there were 11 such doctors in 1882 (Griffing 1882). These doctors traveled by horse and buggy to their patients and made deliveries in the home. This practice is easily recalled by many of the older residents in the county.

More recently, however, this pattern has changed. There are no longer any country doctors. Two medical doctors have established an out-patient clinical practice in Leveetown and they are the only doctors in the county. Because of the small population of the county, a hospital has not seemed feasible, so many mothers travel to a neighboring county to give birth. There they have close attention and adequate physical facilities to care for their needs.

If one cannot afford this service, there are two alternatives. Mothers can go to the charity hospital in Big Town or can have their babies delivered in the small clinic in Leveetown since the local doctors have a few beds in the back of the clinic for such situations and can keep the mothers under observation for two or three days.

Birth is the only occasion where one might need to go out of the county for services. Marriages are conducted by ministers in the many churches throughout the county and the dead are cared for by the two funeral homes in Leveetown. Burial is in any number of the cemeteries over the county, but more recently emphasis has been placed on being buried in the large cemetery just outside Leveetown. Funerals and the changing attitudes associated with them will be discussed in greater detail later in this report.

Not only is there a "cradle to the grave arrangement" in Walnut County, there is more importantly an interdependence among the town and country people in the county. Leveetown residents are dependent on rural

people for their livelihood. They would not be able to survive without the rural dollar, and conversely, the rural people are dependent on Leveetown for commodities and services, as Leveetown is the only settlement which possesses the range of institutions necessary to supply their basic needs. In this connection it should also be noted that there is an interchange of personnel between town and country since many rural residents work in town and since there are a few town residents who farm. In summary, it would be most difficult to isolate one segment of Walnut County and analyze it as a distinct community.

Sanderson's (1966: 179) definition of a rural community is applicable to Walnut County. He defines a rural community as a "rural area within which the people have a common center of interest, usually a village, and within which they have a sense of common obligations and responsibilities", and defines the community center as "...that point in the community where the interests and activities of its people focus" (1966: 181).

It is for these reasons that this report deals with Walnut County as opposed to any one settlement. Community, in other words, refers to the geographical area, Walnut County, and to the sense of unity as expressed by members within these boundaries (Arensberg 1966: 107-108). Expressions such as "I like to come home by way of Oak County because it makes Walnut County look better," and "We're all middle-class here in Walnut County" or "Walnut County is what I would call a substantial middle-class community",

reveal a certain degree of unity and pride of residence which lead to the county as opposed to an individual settlement as a unit of analysis.

C. The Economy

1. Agriculture

Life in Walnut County revolves around the processes of agriculture. This is clearly exemplified in the local weekly newspaper and in the general conversation of the people on the streets or in the restaurants. Virtually every issue of the newspaper has at least two articles on the front page directly concerned with farming. In one issue, for instance, there was reference to six agricultural activities. The headlines read: Walnut County Dairymen To Hear Speakers on Forage Production and Dairy Management; Grain Is Subject of Short Course; Farmers Urged to Check ASC Program; Burley Tobacco Acreage This Year To Be Down Some; Burley Auctions About Finished; and there was a large picture of the new Kentucky Dairy Princess representing more than 22,000 dairy farmers in Kentucky. This issue of the newspaper is typical rather than exceptional.

A survey of 39 issues of the Walnut County newspaper from February 1969, to February 1970, showed that there were 117 farm related articles on the front page. This was an average of three articles per issue.

An automobile drive through the county also attests the importance of agriculture since on any typical day one can see farm equipment on the highways, men in the fields working, and cows grazing the hillsides. It has

already been mentioned that dress patterns in the county express the importance of agriculture since farmers come to town in their work clothes to purchase necessary supplies and to converse with fellow farmers.

The Census Bureau classifies Walnut County as being entirely rural since the Bureau's breaking point between rural and urban is a settlement population of 1,000 and above. The largest settlement in Walnut County is below that figure. Agriculture, thus, is by far the economic force in the wider community.

The trend from numerous small farms to fewer large, mechanized farms which has taken place across the United States (Aylesworth, 1959) has occurred in Walnut County. Maps of the county which were made in the late 1890's vividly show the scattering of small farms across the county. Population statistics also reveal this vast rural to urban migration which has been characteristic of the last few decades. Since 1920, for instance, the population of Walnut County has decreased by 30 percent and between 1950 and 1960 the rural farm population of Walnut County has decreased by approximately 1,000 persons (from 4,382 to 3,426). In 1950, 71 percent of the population of the county was engaged in farming, whereas in 1960, 60 percent was so engaged.

At the same time there has been an increase in crop production in the county. Burley tobacco production between 1955 and 1965 increased by over 1 million pounds (3.197 million pounds to 4.287 million pounds). Significant increases have also occurred in other crops produced in the county.

Two other trends are taking place in Walnut County which deserve mention. One is the increase in the number of people who view agriculture as a supplement to their income rather than the major revenue. A number of the small farmers in the county have seen that they were not able to make a 'sufficient' living from farming, so they have obtained jobs in Big Town and commute daily to work. Since they value living on the farm and value farm activities, they continue to raise tobacco and other small crops. Most of this work is accomplished on weekends and during vacations, so extra labor is not usually necessary except perhaps during harvest.

This trend is by no means unique to Walnut County for in 1958, about 37 percent of the farmers in the United States were 'part-time' farmers. It is also hypothesized that this type of farming is not merely a transitional stage. Part-time farming is a permanent status (Rogers 1960: 5).

The second trend that is taking place in Walnut County is an increase in the number of people who are moving to the farm from urban areas but who are not involved in farming activities. These persons, likewise, value living in rural areas and often go to great expense and trouble to build a home on a few acres of land in the "country". One informant expressed his ideal living situation by saying that he would like to live in the middle of ten acres of land, away from the sounds of the highway and out of sight from neighbors. This is characteristic of many of the people who are moving to rural areas and continue to work in urban areas. It is noteworthy that a minority of the merchants in

Leveetown actually reside in the town. The majority live on farms in the country.

a. Tobacco Production

During the growing season small tobacco plots are visible throughout the county. In 1968 there were 741 tobacco allotments made in the county with 1,662.90 acres in burley tobacco production. In that same year, 3,945,561 pounds of tobacco were marketed from the county.

Government tobacco base allotments were made according to the amount of acreage a farmer had in tobacco production at the time the initial allotments were made and according to the size of the farms. According to law, no burley allotment is less than five-tenths of an acre or ten percent of the cropland on the farm. The size of these allotments is reassessed each year according to what the farmer is producing. The size of the tobacco allotment may be decreased, but never increased.

Tobacco production is widespread primarily because it is a cash crop and tobacco checks often are used to pay off debts incurred throughout the previous year. There is also a sizeable amount of money-borrowing based on the expected cash income from the next year's crop. Because of the cash value of a tobacco base, real estate advertising always includes the amount of tobacco base a given piece of property has because this enhances its value, and it is therefore more likely to sell.

It is in this area, tobacco production, that the small farmer has been able to keep his own, and this is due to the fact that he, with his family, is able to

take care of the crop himself. In tobacco production, labor is a crucial factor. When the farmer is planting and harvesting, each tobacco plant must be personally handled, and this necessitates a large labor force spending many hours in the field. Hired hands are hard to come by and are expensive, so that the small farmer increases his profits by performing all the work himself. It is not uncommon, therefore, to see the entire family, men and women and boys and girls, out in the field working together tending the tobacco.

The division of labor in tobacco production often is based on sex. The nursery is prepared and planted by men. Women pull plants from the beds to be transplanted to the fields which were prepared by the men. In planting, women sit on the planter and feed in the plants while the men drive the tractor. Children follow behind, watering each plant as it is placed in the ground. Irrigation water is hauled from Leveetown in large water tanks which are either owned by the farmers or is sold to the farmers by the four water vendors in Walnut County.

As the plants begin to grow, it is important that they be kept weeded, and men and women perform this task. After the foliage has covered the ground, there is little more to do until the plants are ready for harvest. The plants do occasionally have to be sprayed with 'sucker stuff' and against various bugs and worms which are harmful to the plants, and this task is performed by the men.

In harvesting, men and women share tasks. Each plant is cut several inches above the ground and is then placed on a 5-foot stick for hanging in the drying barn. More often than not the women thread the plants on the stick and place it on a flatbed trailer for transporting to the barn. Once hung in the barn, the plants are allowed to dry for several months; then both men and women strip the leaves from the stem. During the months of December and January the men take the dried tobacco to market in neighboring cities.

The above description is limited to small farms, which are operated by entire families. On the larger farms much of the work is hired out. Harvesting specialists, for instance, operate on an acreage basis and will harvest a crop for the pre-set fee. Another way of maintaining the tobacco base while earning 'extra' cash is by renting out the acreage on shares. A farmer with a small base might contract with two or more farmers to harvest their tobacco on halves.

Since tobacco production is seasonal, a worker in Leveetown or Big Town can take his vacation during the planting and harvesting stages. By doing this he is able to earn extra income and continue to keep his tobacco base.

In connection with labor problems, it should be mentioned that the harvesting of tobacco usually comes when school is beginning its new year, and parents who are "getting in" their tobacco keep their children out of school until the crop has been completely harvested. This often puts this student behind his class when he eventually makes it back to school three or four weeks later.

Tobacco production is important to the economy of Walnut County. In 1964 the gross sales neared 2 million dollars for the county, so that it is little wonder that the people are concerned about recent government attempts to eliminate tobacco advertising on television. A few are resigned to the fact that production will be reduced, but there are many others who think that the growers should fight the new "federal encroachment" on private enterprise. "Anyone knows that tobacco smoke doesn't get down in the lungs where cancer starts," and "The reduction of anxiety that one gets in smoking far offsets any harm that it may cause" are typical reactions to tobacco smoking and its potential harm. There are a few who think the government ought to be concentrating on alcohol advertising because "drunken drivers cause most of the deaths on the highways!" Similar comments are: "I've never heard of smoking causing traffic deaths!" "Drinking is morally wrong; smoking is not."

These attitudes are certainly understandable in view of the fact that the economy of the county would definitely be greatly affected if tobacco advertising were restricted. The validity of the statements mentioned above are not in question. What is important is the behavior of the people in the county who visualize a potential threat to their economic livelihood and are attempting to preserve what they have. High level government decisions in the area of mass-media tobacco advertising will most certainly be felt in Walnut County. These decisions could very easily have the consequence of contributing greatly to increased urban migration.

Other crops of lesser importance produced on the farms in Walnut County are corn, wheat, and alfalfa. Corn and alfalfa are primarily used as feed for dairy cattle, the next topic for discussion.

b. Dairying

The terrain of Walnut County is thought to be particularly suited to dairying. Its rolling hills are ideal for grass crops that can feed the cows and are not suited for grain crops because of the difficulty of plowing the slopes. The "bottom land" is considered to be the best for crop production and, comparatively speaking, there is little of this good land.

The sale of milk and milk products, therefore, is the single largest revenue of Walnut County. In 1967, the sale of dairy products brought in more than three million dollars to the county. This, coupled with the nearly two million dollars that tobacco production brings into the county, "keeps the county going."

The importance of the sale of milk was brought about through the diffusion of Grade A dairying. Prior to this innovation, cows were primarily a source of milk and butter for the family. A limited amount of dairy products was sold to neighbors, but the real thrust in the increase in the importance of dairying came with the change to Grade A production. Now milk for home consumption is bought in the stores or delivered to the homes by commercial firms.

The desire for a consistent, sufficient income has driven the dairy farmer to larger, more efficient operations. The trend, as it is for crop production, is for larger, mechanized operations, and this has imposed a number of strains on the dairy farmer which will be discussed later.

In July of 1969 there were 186 Grade A Dairy operations in the county. This number reflects approximately one half of all dairies in the county, the other half being those operations below Grade A. These Grade C operations are low yield dairies which are time consuming and provide less than an adequate income for the farmer. By necessity he must be involved in other farming pursuits.

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The Grade C dairyman usually milks less than 20 cows. One informant milked 11 cows by hand morning and evening, an activity which took three hours of his time daily. This individual refused to up-grade his dairy because of the expense and the many regulations and inspections he would be expected to undergo. He enjoys the freedom of being his own boss, and this value supercedes in importance the value for increased income.

Individualism, however, often gives way to a possible increase in family income. Production increases from Grade A operations are great. The 186 Grade A producers in Walnut County produce as much milk as an eight-county area of Grade C producers. Incomes, therefore, are greater and the pressure to transfer to Grade A is strong. "A good farmer grosses \$550 per cow per year. After operating expenses he will net \$500 per cow."

Furthermore, bulk tanks reduce freight expenses since the milk does not have to be picked up as often.

The glamour of increased income is partially off-set by a large initial expense for equipment. Bulk tanks, automated milking machines, sanitary milking barns, feed barns, and silos are extremely expensive. There are agencies, however, which will provide credit to the farmer to get established. The milk companies will finance him and will deduct monthly from his milk check for payment on his machinery. There is also a Production Credit Association available which will help him enter in the business, and local banks sometimes finance the dairyman.

There are numerous other problems associated with Grade A dairy operations:

1. The milk which has been stored in bulk tanks on the farm is picked up twice a week and is not tested for butter fat content until the tank truck is completely loaded. This means that a farmer who concentrates on improving the quality of his milk, that is increasing the butter fat content, is sometimes off-set by the farmer who does not care. If the butter fat content for one farmer is low, the other farmers will be affected. (The higher the butter fat content, the greater the price paid for the milk.)

2. There is always the threat that imitation milk will replace whole milk and the financial investment which has been made will be to no avail. Imitation milk is presently outlawed in Kentucky, but margarine is not. Some

farmers are "selling milk and buying margarine." This makes little sense to some farmers.

3. Price controls fluctuate according to a number of factors over which the farmer has no control. The dairyman, thus, is not assured of the same income each month, regardless of the milk his cows produce. Some dairymen in the county believe that the only solution to this problem is for all the dairymen in the United States to get together so that they will have the power to control prices. Presently the dairymen in Walnut County belong to KYANA, the Kentucky-Indiana Milk Producers Association, an organization that supposedly stands for the farmer. There is disagreement, however, on whether the organization does, in fact, help the farmer. Some say "all they do is take dues from the farmer and don't help to insure quality control," while others think the organization serves a useful purpose in that it is the only voice for the dairymen.

Gallaher, in his re-study of Plainville (1961) described a few of the social changes that resulted from the switch to Grade A Dairying. The major change he noted was a re-ordering of the division of labor with the women playing a greater role in the production of milk, leading to a more democratic structure in the dairy family (1961: 66-67). This researcher was not able to spend adequate time with dairy families during his brief period in the field, but it was noted that the division of labor in dairy families does give a greater role in the production of milk to the women; however, this behavior pattern is

not by any means restricted to dairy families. The farm women in Walnut County assume an important role, as noted before, in the production of tobacco and corn, and although there is a division of labor based on sex, the work tasks of the female are no less strenuous (Blood and Wolfe 1966: 269).

It is probably true that this behavior is a result of the labor shortage on the farm, a desire to increase farm incomes, and/or a "liberation" of the woman from household tasks; but whatever the reasons, the woman is assuming a more important role in the family as an economic asset. Furthermore, not only does the farm wife perform what previously were male roles on the farm, she is also working in businesses in Leveetown and in Big Town. A few are teaching in the public schools. The importance of the Business and Professional Women's Club in Walnut County is reflective of this change in behavior patterns and will be discussed in greater detail later in this study.

Gallaher (1961: 66) also noted the "monotonous demands of the farm families," and management demands placed on Grade A dairymen in Plainville. This is obviously true in Walnut County as the dairymen are forced to remain on the farm 365 days a year and must maintain quality and sanitary standards to meet the requirements of state health officials and milk companies that purchase their milk. Milk companies that purchase the farmer's milk have the "right to place controls on the products they purchase. If the farmer does not meet these standards, the company can refuse to purchase the milk." This threat of withdrawal is forever in the minds of the farmer.

The dairy farmers view many of these requirements as foolish. One, for instance, told of the chemicals he must add to the water he drinks before it is suitable for the cows. "City water is not good enough for these cows," he said. The farmer soon learns the requirements, however, and often innovates ways in which he can "beat the system." Health inspectors, for example, "run erasers up the hoses to see if they are clean. I have learned to beat them at their own game," said an informant. "Before the inspector comes I run a brush about six inches up every hose just to be sure he won't find any dirt." This, of course, does not mean that the hose is clean.

The dairy farmer resents the loss of independence due to government controls, and he resents the 365 day a year task. The cows must be milked twice daily on a regular time schedule. While attending a picnic, a dairy farmer was overheard as saying, "If I don't get home now the cow's bag is going to break."

When increased controls were suggested, a dairy farmer summed up the feelings of most others when he said, "'Bout all a dairy farmer has left is his pride. Don't start trying to take that away from him."

Labor problems are as prevalent on the dairy farm as they are elsewhere in the community. As a result, all members of the family have particular work tasks which they must perform daily. Men and women as well as boys and girls equally share the task of caring for and milking the cows.

Feed presents another problem, and within the past few years possible solutions have been offered and are being tried on the farm. To supply the need of a lack of outside labor, a no-till corn planter has been introduced in the area. Because of this innovation, one individual can harvest the corn with a minimum of extra labor and place it in the silo.

The cash investment is further increased because of feed storage problems. A good silo, 24 feet in diameter and 70 feet tall with a storage capacity of 960 tons of silage, will feed 100 cows eight months of the year and costs approximately \$10,000. It is however, a necessary investment if one wishes to reap larger financial returns. There are a few dairymen in Walnut County who have operations of this magnitude.

Even with its many disadvantages, dairying provides a steady income for the farm family. The monthly dairy check maintains the family throughout the year. The advantage of receiving monthly checks apparently outweighs the inconveniences inherent in being a dairy farmer.

As has been brought out, agriculture in Walnut County is highly technical and requires either a good education or outside assistance in order to keep up with the latest innovations. Most farmers in Walnut County rely on outside assistance, which comes from a variety of sources - the next topic of discussion.

c. Technical Support to the Farmers

Scientific advances in agriculture have presented Walnut County farmers with two main problems: (1) With the rapidity of the changes that are

being made in agriculture, the farmer finds it difficult to keep up with the latest techniques. He has not the time to do the extensive reading necessary for the awareness of the scope of the new advances. (2) Many of the new advances require additional capital investments in order to implement them, and a lack of capital often is a deterrent to acceptance of many of the innovations, even though the farmer might desire to try them.

Both of these conditions are anxiety producing, but the farmer has an option to turn to numerous Federal and State agencies whose expressed purpose is to give assistance to the farmer. Several of these agencies will be briefly discussed noting the objectives and the extent of their activities.

(a) The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service is an agency that is concerned with the control of crop production and which offers cash incentives for participation in the program. Participation in the program is widespread in the county and one method of organizing the farmers to support the program is through the election of an ASCS Committee made up of 21 farmers--three each from the seven "communities" throughout the county. This committee assists in the management of the program and such participation aids in the acceptance of the program by the farmers.

The ASCS is concerned with two primary programs: the feed grain program and the wheat program. Under the feed grain program farmers may earn diversion and price-support payments as well as qualify for price-support loans on their corn, barley, and grain sorghum. The wheat program provides

diversion payments for reducing acreage below the farm allotment, and price support loans on all the wheat produced on the farm. Both of these programs are voluntary and farmers must 'sign up' for participation each year.

In 1968 the ASCS administered a total of \$196,786.24 to farmers in Walnut County who participated in six agricultural programs. The largest of these programs was the feed grain program of which 558 farms participated with 10,378 base acres allotted. \$116,809.00 was paid to the farmers who participated in this program. There were 90 farms and 746 acres that participated in the wheat allotment program.

Acceptance of this program is widespread in the county, and such acceptance is due partially to the fact that participation in the program helps to bridge the gap between the lack of capital and the acceptance of innovations. Under this program farmers not only receive cash payments for their participation in the program, they are also eligible for loans on their entire following year's crop of corn, grain sorghums and barley. In 1969 payments estimated at \$150,000.00 were made to 267 Walnut County farmers.

(b) The Walnut County Soil Conservation Service is another Federal program that gives support to the farmers. This agency is directed by a Board of Supervisors made up of local farmers. The program is actually carried out by SCS technicians who are assigned to the local district. The agency is concerned with, as the name indicates, soil conservation. It works with farmers on multi-purpose pond building (for stockwater, irrigation,

fishing, fire fighting, and recreation), pasture hay planting, contouring, cover cropping, and minimum tillage. In 1968, 208 farmers participated in the program. Fifteen farm ponds were built, ten stockwater tanks installed, pasture and hay planting were done on 620 acres, and stubble mulching was carried out on 205 acres in the county.

The SCS anticipates an increase in its activities due to the anticipated and actual changes which are taking place in the county. A portion of its annual report sums up these projective changes:

"Although primarily an agricultural area, Walnut County is undergoing many of the same changes occurring all over the country. Ownership patterns and land use are changing. There is more interest in recreation, beautification, and wildlife developments. Many farmers now work in Big Town. With better roads and the building of the Black River Reservoir, there will be an increased demand for land for non-agricultural purposes. The District will support programs benefitting all rural people, whether farmer or non-farmer."

Participation in this program allows the farmers to make improvements on their farms with the Federal Government helping to share the costs - another avenue whereby the farmer can accept innovations with a minimum of expense.

(c) The Farmers Home Administration, an agency of the United States Department of Agriculture, provides loans to farmers for the construction or maintenance of farm facilities. There is no full-time FHA administrator in Walnut County; however, there are office facilities and an area FHA supervisor who comes to the county on a weekly basis.

This agency, along with the others mentioned, helps the farmer obtain the necessary capital to properly maintain his farm. Innovations are also diffused through these agencies, but the primary source of diffusion is from the Cooperative Extension Service.

(d) The Cooperative Extension Service provides a number of specialists in farm and home management whose role it is to assist the farmer with his problems and to diffuse innovations which are of value to the farmer. One of the more important individuals to the farmer has, in the past, been the County Extension Agent.

There are two things that the farmers want out of an extension agent: (1) They want someone they know personally and one they can trust; this they consider as most important. (2) They want someone who will live and work in the county over an extended period of time. During the past few years neither of these desires has been fulfilled.

In the 1940's a new agent came to live and work in Walnut County. "It took about three years for him to get to be well known," said one farmer, "and after that time no one would think about planting unless asking the agent." He died in the mid 1960's, and since that time Walnut County has had its problems with extension agents. The last one "sold out" a few years ago, and after he left, the University began making changes in the overall system.

Mechanization and specialization were responsible for the Cooperative Extension Service changing to what it terms the 'area specialist'

concept. An agent specializes in grain crops, dairying, other particular aspects of farming. Because he is specialized, he shares his time with several counties. He makes regular rounds to the county seats and informs the farmers, through the local newspaper, when he will be in town and where he can be contacted. The farmers are thoroughly dissatisfied with this arrangement. They elucidate the problem as one of not being able to drop what they are doing and come to town to see the specialist. Typical comments are as follows: "How can I tell him my problem; I want him to see it so he can tell me what to do." "What we need is a man who lives in the county and learns the farmers and their problems." "When a farmer has a problem he wants an answer now; he can't wait till next week when the specialist comes."

The farmer says that he wants and needs personalized assistance with his technical problems. Presently he perceives that he is not getting this help, and he is dissatisfied with the system.

The importance of farming to the overall economy of Walnut County cannot be overemphasized. In 1950, 1,424 males were engaged in agricultural activities out of a total of 1,892 males employed in major occupations. In other words, 75 percent of the employed males in Walnut County in 1950 were either farm managers or farm laborers.

The trend toward larger, mechanized farms has already been noted. This trend is supported by the fact that in the decade 1950-1960, the number of farm managers and laborers decreased from 1,424 to 940 out of a total of 1,670

employed persons in major occupations in 1960. In percentage terms, in 1960, 65 percent of the employed males in major occupations were farmers - a loss of 10 percent in a single decade.

Farming still retains a primary position in the economy of the county, and many of the activities in the county revolve around the farmer's time schedule. An example of this situation is found in the economic institutions in the county.

d. Rural Businesses

Since there is a minimum of "through travelers" in Walnut County, an analysis of highway businesses such as Roberts (1956) made would be fruitless. It is significant, however, that presently there are only six businesses in the county which are located outside Leveetown and which cater to local residents and to what intercounty travel there might be. All of these businesses are located in settlements with place names and are multi-purpose in function; that is, they are service stations and general merchandise stores combined. There are no rural post offices.

The loss in rural institutions noted previously has definitely affected what used to be an important rural institution - the country store. At one period in the history of the county the country store provided many social and economic functions which gave rise to its importance in the community. Now, with improved transportation, the country store is struggling for its very survival. Most of the stores have lost the struggle in Walnut County.

The six remaining country stores still provide social and economic functions to the farmer. A store is a focal point in the area, a place where news is disseminated and friends visit and relax. Its economic function lies in the area of credit, as most stores extend credit on a harvest basis; that is, bills are paid when the farmer sells his crop. They also provide quick lunches consisting of sandwiches and cold drinks, which the farmer can obtain during his noon break. Gasoline and gas products are also available for farm equipment; however, in recent years the move has been to personal gasoline tanks for individual farms.

Exchange in these businesses is on an informal basis, and in several of the stores chairs and benches are situated around a centralized heater for conversation purposes. Children and adults come into these stores, pick up what merchandize they need and often start out the door calling out their purchases so that the owner can record them on the bill.

Rural businessmen are finding it increasingly difficult to operate on this basis since they must pay cash for their supplies. Long-term credit enforces delayed gratification of income and often the store owners are forced to borrow money in order to stay in business. Merchants readily elucidate the problem as being one where they are forced to pay high interest rates for their borrowed money, and the customers are allowed to borrow cash on their bill and allowed to make long-term purchases at no extra charge.

Conducting business on a friendship basis is contrary to modern economic practices and is slowly becoming less frequent in rural America.

The proposed Black River Reservoir in Walnut County could possibly be the end for such practices as "through travelers" and new businesses come into the county.

The county store does not provide for all the needs of the farmer. For more staple items he must go to the community center, Leveetown.

e. Leveetown Businesses

In the summer of 1969 there were 70 businesses in Leveetown. Those businesses and the types of services provided the Walnut County residents are shown in Table IV.

The above-mentioned businesses in Leveetown provide either part-time or full-time employment for 298 persons - 112 females and 186 males.

Ownership of Leveetown businesses is divided as follows:

Purely Locally Owned	60.0%
Locally Owned Franchise	14.3%
Immigrant Owned	15.7%
Externally Owned	10.0%

'Purely Locally Owned' refers to those businesses that are owned by native born residents and are independent of any larger enterprise.

'Locally Owned Franchise' refers to those businesses which are owned by native-born residents, but which are a part of a larger concern. For example, automotive service stations are owned locally but are supplied by and carry the trade name of national oil companies.

TABLE IV
BUSINESSES IN WALNUT COUNTY FOR 1969

CATEGORY	TYPE	NUMBER
Food Service	Restaurant	4
	Food Processing & Cold Storage	1
	Milk Receiving Station	1
	Grocery	4
Medical Services	Medical Clinic	1
	Dentist	1
	Chiropractor	1
	Veterinarian	1
	Drug/Pharmacy	1
Recreation	Pool Hall	2
Automotive Service	Sales and Service	4
	Gasoline Stations	7
Specialized Services	Funeral Home	2
	Barber Shop	2
	Photographer	1
	Lawyer	2
	Real Estate Agent	3
	Newspaper/Printing	1

Table IV, Continued.

CATEGORY	TYPE	NUMBER
Specialised Services	Insurance	4
	Beauty Shop	4
	Plumbing & Electrical	2
	Shoe Repair	1
	Jewelry	1
General Supplies	Appliance/ Furniture	3
	Bulk Transport	1
	Hardware/Variety	5
	Farm Supplies	4
	Clothing	2
	Florist	1
	Clothing Maintenance	2
Credit Services	Bank	1

'Immigrant Owned' refers to those businesses owned by persons who have moved into Leveetown from outside the county during their lifetime and are not native born.

'Externally Owned' refers to those businesses owned by persons whose residence is some county other than Walnut County.

The ownership of businesses has been purported to be an indicator of urban influences on rural communities, and the above ownership indicates clearly that rural influences are still predominant in Leveetown (Smith 1969: 6).

A number of businessmen in Leveetown find it difficult to make an adequate income from their businesses. This is partially attested by the fact that of the 70 businesses in town, 38, or 54 percent, have been in business for less than 10 years. Of course, there have been new businesses started and a number of merchants have retired, but this high percentage is an indication that there is a large turn-over in economic enterprises and while this study was being made, three businesses closed down their operation. One declared bankruptcy and the other two simply ceased operation.

Gross incomes for a number of businesses were difficult to obtain, but approximate incomes for a few of the businesses are listed in Table V.

A growth in dollar volume over the years can be an indicator of the total economic growth of the county. The local bank, for instance, has reported that its business has doubled since 1963. In 1963 its total assets were reported as \$3,583,624.41 and in 1969, assets were reported as \$7,058,373.87. The

TABLE V

APPROXIMATE GROSS INCOME FOR SELECTIVE LEVEETOWN BUSINESSES

<u>Type of Business</u>	<u>Approximate Gross Income - 1968</u>
Service Station	\$ 90,000.00
Service Station	110,000.00
Grocery Store	500,000.00
Farm Supply Store	393,000.00
Beauty Shop	2,000.00
Barber Shop	4,000.00
Pool Room	5,000.00
Beauty Shop	3,000.00
Electricity Supplier	104,700.00
Funeral Home	25,000.00
Used Car Sales	65,000.00
Grocery Store	265,000.00
Clothing Store	85,000.00
Restaurant	32,000.00
Funeral Home	50,000.00
Restaurant	60,000.00
Variety Store	60,000.00
Clothing Store	120,000.00
Variety Store	7,000.00

reasons given for such an increase are improved agricultural production and a growing number of persons in the county who are finding employment outside the county yet are continuing to reside in the county.

Restaurants

The eating places in town have seemingly assumed the social function of the country store. Businessmen, farmers, public officials and local residents go to restaurants to visit over a cup of coffee or lunch. It has become a popular meeting place in the community.

Two of the restaurants serve lunches on Sunday, and an increasing number of families are preferring to eat out after church rather than to cook their own meals. More affluent members in the community sometimes drive to Big Town for Sunday dinner, but this practice is the exception rather than the rule. Sunday dinner at home with the family was and continues to be an important event in the week for the family, but examples of an incipient change in behavior regarding eating habits are noted in this instance.

One restaurant in town was remodeled recently to cater to the more affluent members in the community. It is air conditioned, carpeted, and has a modern atmosphere. Meals here are all ordered from the menu and prices are moderate. Interestingly, this particular restaurant is open only from May till September. The rest of the year it is closed, and a lack of business during the winter months is given as the reason for closing.

The other main restaurant in town offers a noon buffet with home-style cooking which has become very popular. One usually has to wait in long lines and must wait for a seat during the rush hour. The home-style cooking has a definite appeal. In fact, Walnut County residents definitely prefer traditional cooking to "vending machine food" that Lantis (1962: 370) wrote about. There are comparatively few vending machines in Leveetown, and these few are found in gasoline stations.

Food Stores

Of the four grocery stores in Leveetown, two are large businesses that attempt to compete with the larger chain stores found in Big Town. The other two are smaller businesses that have a relatively low-income clientele and operate mainly on credit. These businesses offer 12 months credit which is based on crop harvest. One owner expressed his feelings about credit this way: "I have lost 30 to 40,000 dollars in bad credit since I've been in business, but I'd rather give it to the poor than to give it to those preachers who run around with ties on." Neither of these stores advertises widely, and both are open long hours - 8:00 A.M. till 10:00 and 11:00 P.M.

The two larger grocery stores are in competition with grocery stores outside the county. They deliver to homes, take phone orders, and advertise widely. One store mails circulars throughout the county four times a year and gives away ball point pens. The other store has a weekly drawing from which it gives away \$20 worth of groceries. It has found this to be an effective means

of advertising. Such advertising and services are necessary in order to keep the people purchasing their groceries locally.

Food prices are slightly higher in these two stores compared to the neighboring urban grocery stores. A typical advertisement in the local newspaper for one of the stores had the following prices: Chuck Roast 45¢ per pound; Chuck Steak 49¢ per pound, and a 10 pound bag of potatoes for 49¢. At the same time chain stores in urban areas were advertising Chuck Roast for 39¢ per pound, Chuck Steak for 49¢ per pound, and a 10 pound bag of potatoes for 39¢. The two smaller grocery stores in Leveetown charge higher prices on most all items.

Clothing Stores

There are two clothing stores in town, both owned by persons who live outside the county. (One store is owned by two men, one of whom resides outside the county).

The clothing found in these businesses is priced so that the average man can afford them. Those with larger incomes go to Big Town or other larger cities to make their purchases. Neither of the stores is elaborately decorated. One, in fact, is not air conditioned and gives the appearance of a typical country store - oily, creaky, wooden floors, and large fans buzzing throughout the day. A large awning keeps the sun off one side of the store and twice daily one can see the manager outside either rolling down or up this large canopy.

Several other stores in town sell clothes as a secondary item. These are primarily variety stores, but they sell socks, underwear, and a limited selection of women's dresses. The range of selection in any of the clothing stores is such that many people find that they must go out of the county to complete their wardrobe.

Hardware, Furniture, and Household Appliances

There are four businesses in Leveetown that supply the necessities for home furnishings. Dining room suites, bedroom suites, stoves, T.V.'s, etc., are all available. If one cannot afford new furniture, there is the used furniture dealer whose shop looks something like a cluttered pawnshop.

One of these stores has a wide selection of toys and gifts. Each Christmas it mails out a catalogue advertising what items it has for sale, and mailings go to a five-county area. Much of the gift purchasing is done in this one store because of its wide selection. This business also has a lumber yard connected with it.

One home item that is most important is liquid propane gas which is used for heating and cooking. This method of heating is rather recent in Walnut County, and has not been completely diffused throughout the county. Many still continue to use coal and oil for heating; however, propane gas tanks are widespread, but are primarily restricted to middle and upper income homes.

There are two propane gas dealers in the county. On request they will install a propane gas tank at a home, and this tank remains the property of the

vendor. What the home owner pays for is the gas and not the tank. This means that once the vendor can get the tank to the home, he will have a lifetime customer, for only his gas can be put in the tank. Rarely does one ask to have a tank removed because "It's too much trouble".

Farm Supplies

There are two main sources for farm supplies in the county. One is a large farm implement dealer and the other is a farm variety store. The implement dealer almost has exclusive control over implement sales as he will service only that equipment he sells. If a tractor, for instance, was purchased outside the county, and it needed repair, the owner would be forced to go outside the county for service. This is a great incentive to purchase locally.

The other farm supplier is a cooperatively run store which is a branch of an enterprise widespread in the Southeast United States. It does a large business in feed, tires, crop insecticides, and so forth. Each year it has a large cooperative dinner where it provides free food (a fish dinner) and free entertainment by a local western-style band. This is a popular affair and usually attracts many persons who do not purchase from the firm.

Drug Store

There is one drug store in Leveetown. It is well equipped and carries a wide selection of merchandise running from school supplies to fishing tackle. A registered pharmacist owns the business, and he dispenses the drugs. The local clinic also dispenses drugs which makes it hard on the drug store owner.

The advantage in this situation is the doctor's for he prescribes and dispenses his own medicine. Local residents say that the doctor sends those persons who cannot afford to pay to the drug store.

The drug store also carries a wide selection of magazines ranging from Playboy to farm publications. There has been some criticism from local residents concerning this magazine rack because of the "girlie" magazines that are on the open rack. This is the only store in town where magazines are sold on the open rack.

Banking

The bank is located in the central portion of town and is housed in modern facilities. It was remodeled three years ago and is now in the process of expanding its operation. Recently the Board of Directors purchased the grocery store next to the bank and plans are being made to remodel to give the operation greater space.

The bank is central to the life of the county residents. It sponsors the Technical Action Panel farm and dairy tours (it provides a free lunch) and purchases trophies and provides funds for numerous activities in the county.

Recently several new services were provided the local people by the bank. It opened a drive-in window so people could do their banking by car. Many people felt that this would never work, but "its been the most successful think we've ever done". The women are the ones who like to the most as they can do their banking without having to get 'dressed up'. The bank also extended

operation hours on Thursdays so that commuters who get paid on that day can have time to get their checks deposited before going home. This, too, has been a very popular service.

The growth of the bank has already been mentioned. It has doubled its volume of business in the last six years and anticipates doing a greater business when the new reservoir is completed.

Dissemination of News

a. Telephone

There is a telephone exchange located in Leveetown, but no personnel operates out of this facility. Telephone operators are situated in a town 20 miles away. Actually, the county is divided between two telephone exchanges; therefore, in some places in the county it is long distance to call a neighbor.

The onset of the dial system was difficult for some residents, and many still miss the "personal" attention they received from the operators. One informant said he wished they would go back to the old system because it used to be that when he wanted to know where someone was, all he had to do was call the operator.

Since there is no telephone office in Walnut County, monthly bills are paid at a local variety store.

b. Newspaper

The newspaper was established in 1870 and is the oldest continuous business in Walnut County. The present owner moved into the county 20 years ago and purchased the paper at that time.

When he took over the paper there were approximately 300 regular subscribers. Now there are over 2,000 from Walnut County and the surrounding area. The front page of the paper is generally allocated for local news, but occasionally there will be state and national news. The remainder of the paper consists of advertisements, local community news, and a society column. Five communities in the county have local reporters who gather personal news notes from the area and forward it on to the newspaper office. These columns are generally restricted to visitation accounts, births, deaths, and church related activities. The newspaper is circulated every Thursday except on special occasions.

National news comes from a newspaper that is printed in Big Town. This is a daily morning paper and is delivered through the mail or is picked up by rural residents at the country stores.

Medical Services

There is a small clinic in Leveetown that serves the entire county. Two doctors, a father and son team, manage the clinic, and they employ one registered nurse and five office personnel.

The clinic is operated six days a week and the doctors stagger their days so that they can be off two days a week. One of the doctors is always on call.

Facilities are modern and the majority of the patients are seen on an out-patient basis. Rarely are house calls made. The clinic is furnished with a few beds for emergencies and occasional baby deliveries.

Appointments are seldom made. Anyone desiring to see a doctor simply goes to the clinic and waits his turn. Waiting can be lengthy as the doctors are "always busy." They see from "90 to 100 patients each day of the year." The clinic grosses approximately \$150,000 per year minus drug sales. With drug sales the clinic will gross over \$200,000 per year. Credit, however, is a problem. The clinic extends credit on a 30-day basis, yet sends bills out only once a year. As a result the clinic has over \$300,000 out on the books.

Chiropractor

A chiropractor from out of town has established an office in Leveetown. He comes to town twice a week and indicated that he does a good business. The extent of his business was not available to this researcher.

Rest Home

There is no rest home or nursing home for the elderly in Walnut County. A neighboring county attracts most of this business. There are no plans to construct such a facility at this time.

Alcoholic Beverages and Community Attitudes

A glance at the range of businesses will show that there are no establishments which retail any form of alcoholic beverage. Walnut County is dry, and this fact has been a cause of dissension in the community for a number of years. The county went dry in 1940 and has been dry ever since. Two elections have been held since that time to see if the residents wanted to go 'wet', but the measure was defeated both times. "Preachers and women get together to vote it down", it is said.

It is not difficult to obtain alcoholic drinks if one so desires since Walnut County is surrounded by counties which are wet. A 15 minute drive is all that is necessary to obtain such beverages. Furthermore, several well-known bootleggers are readily accessible.

Many influential members of the community feel the county is 'missing out' by not going wet. The tax revenue for alcoholic beverages is going into other counties, it is said. "It cost us money to stay dry. We have to provide funds to clean up the cans and bottles that are thrown out of car windows as people come back from Oak County." Comments such as this are widespread and these same individuals are confident that the county would go wet if the voter was allowed to enter a voting booth and pull the lever in secrecy. The problem lies in the requirements for a referendum. In order for the question to be placed on the ballot, a petition must be signed by 25 percent of the electorate in the county. Social pressures prevent one from signing the list.

Not long ago a liquor company from a nearby urban area approached local officials about going wet. The company said they would pay the full cost for a referendum and would be responsible for getting the petition signed. All they wanted from the officials was their consent to go ahead with the project. Support was not granted, for as one admitted, "We would not be able to continue to live in town if we allowed them to come in. I'd like to see it wet as bad as anyone, but I wouldn't sign the list for anything". Because of this attitude the town council has been criticized as "not having any backbone in the matter.

If they wanted, they could bring this thing up for a vote and the county would probably go wet."

Drinking continues to be widespread from the top to the bottom of the status hierarchy, but, generally speaking, it is hidden from view. "As many or more people in Walnut County drink as they do elsewhere - they just try to hide it here."

This description of behavior toward alcoholic beverages in Walnut County is intended to point out the general conservative nature of the community, emphasizing again the close interpersonal relationships and the sanctions which control behavior. One must always be on guard, it is felt, because relatives and friends are only a step away.

f. Commuting

Farmers and business personnel in Leveetown make up the largest number of employed people in Walnut County, but in recent years commuting has become an important economic asset to the county's overall affluence.

The trend toward larger mechanized farms has led to the displacement of many farm workers. A few have obtained employment in Leveetown, but in recent years an increasing number of community residents have obtained factory jobs in Big Town, 23 miles away. Estimates of the number of people so employed range from 350 to 1,000 persons from Walnut County.

Commuting has become the answer for those who can no longer farm, yet who value rural living. One-half an hour away are relatively secure jobs

which provide steady incomes. Some businessmen feel that this one fact has saved the county so far from "being wiped off the map." The commuters have steady incomes and "they spend that money here." "Used to be that people wouldn't buy a gift that cost over \$3.00, but now they don't care how much they spend." This comment was referring to the income from urban employment.

The significance of this activity, as noted before, has been such that the local bank has extended its hours of operation on Thursday in order to take care of commuters who get paid each week on that day. The bank has altered its operation schedule in order to service those who bring this important asset to the community.

Family incomes have grown sizeably, since husbands and wives often work together in the factories. Occasionally such a commuter milks a few cows, and/or plants and harvests tobacco to further increase his income. "Prior to obtaining jobs in the factories", observed one informant, "these former farmers owed money on their farms. Now their debts are paid off and many of them have good savings accounts." This somewhat recent change in employment patterns has meant much to the economy of Walnut County and is an important factor in maintaining a stable population in the community.

Some businessmen, however, perceive the lack of alcoholic beverages and commuting as being a hindrance to their business. If one desires to purchase alcoholic beverages he drives to Big Town and makes his purchases. While there he takes advantage of reduced prices found in large chain stores

and thus takes his business out of the county. In the same way the commuters are also exposed to urban prices and often make their purchases before returning to the county; however, it is not known exactly to what extent this is actually hurting the businesses in Walnut County. Those businesses most directly affected by this 'out purchasing' are grocery stores, clothing stores, and automobile and farm implement sales.

Up to this point the major economic activities in Walnut County have been delineated. We now turn to service and social institutions which are present in the community.

D. Government Institutions.

Governmental affairs, except those Federal and state agencies that operate on the county level, take a secondary place in Walnut County. The county residents are too occupied with their own affairs to care very much about what happens regarding national, state, or local government. The Federal government is too removed from the local scene to cause any great concern among the people. Domestic problems are sometimes discussed, but only if the issue tends to bolster their own ethnocentric values. State government is now in the hands of the opposing party, so the relatively few individuals who are interested in such matters are waiting until the next election. These same few individuals are delegated, by default, to "take care of the county" by keeping the other residents informed on what interests the county. Finally, local government, county and city, likewise commands little interest except in

those situations where an individual citizen has a particular problem. The general feeling is that these agencies have operated and continue to operate on their own. There is no real affinity between government institutions and the people.

1. County-State Relations.

As far back as the residents can remember, Walnut County has politically been Democratic. "You can count the Republicans in the county on one hand," it is said, and rarely is there any significant opposition in local elections.

Walnut and Oak Counties go together each two years to send a representative to the State government. There is a "gentlemen's agreement" which says that every four years the Representative is to come from the other county. The State Representative term of office is for two years, but if he has been a "good" representative for the first two years, he can be re-elected for another two years before the office has to go to the other county. The Democratic parties in the two counties decide each two years whom they will offer for election. Invariably this individual is elected to that office.

Since Walnut County is a Democratic county and since there is presently a Republican Administration in the State Governor's office, the residents of the county feel that they are being left out of State government activities. Recently, for example, some state highway men were in Leveetown surveying for a purpose no one could discover. "They wouldn't talk about what

they were doing," said one, and it is perceived that the political differences between the county and the state are "keeping us in the dark about matters that affect us." It is hoped by Walnut County residents that the next gubernatorial election will rectify this condition.

Aside from the Federal and state agricultural offices that are located in the county, there are few resident state officials. The local state welfare case worker maintains an office in Leveetown, but lives in a neighboring county, and there is a State Public Health doctor who shares his time with three county health departments.

Just outside Leveetown is a State Highway maintenance barn from which the state road crew operates. Patronage on the state level is allocated primarily through road work. Local officials of the party in office see to it that their friends are given the highway jobs. This presents a problem to the Republicans because there are very few persons of that party affiliation in the county. The Republicans, therefore, find it difficult to find sufficient people to fill these job openings.

2. County Government.

Walnut County is governed by a Fiscal Court consisting of a county judge and six magistrates elected for four year terms. Other elected county officials are the sheriff, the deputy sheriff (the deputy sheriff is appointed by the sheriff and runs on a ticket with him), the county clerk, the county attorney, and the tax commissioner.

There are no specific educational requirements for these elected positions. Occupants come from all walks of life, and presently the majority of these positions are held by persons who have farms and continue to manage their farms while maintaining their political offices. This is virtually necessary because salaries are so low. The judges' salary, for instance, was \$3,740.00 for 1969. Social Security and retirement benefits are added to this amount.

The county government operates on approximately \$90,000.00 per year. The major portion of this revenue comes from real estate tax - \$47,000.00 - and truck license (\$29,000.00). Disbursements are made according to the categories of services that the government provides. Estimated disbursements for the fiscal year 1969-70 are found in Table VI.

The county government budget gives an indication of the general functions of Walnut County government. It maintains a jail, which, incidentally, accommodates only male prisoners. (Female prisoners must be transported to a nearby county.) It contributes to the maintenance of the county health department and a dog warden; maintains a county farm for prisoners; contributes funds to the State Extension Service and Soil Conservation Service; provides funds for the county bookmobile; and maintains the county roads.

The sheriff is the county law enforcement officer. He also sells dog tags and collects tax bills for the county. The judge is general overseer of county government and also holds court "as the need arises." Probably the primary function of the county judge is to employ and supervise the highway

TABLE VI

ESTIMATED DISBURSEMENTS FOR COUNTY GOVERNMENT 1969-70

I.	General Government	\$ 29,766.00
II.	Protection to Person & Property	4,500.00
III.	Health and Sanitation	7,877.00
IV.	Charities, Hospitals	3,430.00
V.	Libraries & Other Educationals	5,687.75
VI.	General Fund, Unclassified	9,574.25
VII.	Highways	29,000.00
Grand Total		<hr/> \$ 89,835.00

road crew. Road crew salaries are small; thus, most crew members "do a little farming on the side." In Walnut County the judge is not the power figure in the county as so often is the case in rural counties.

County court is conducted by a Circuit Judge who "rides circuit" in three counties. Circuit court is held three times a year in Walnut County; generally in February, May, and November. There are relatively few cases that are tried in circuit court. In fact, it is said that the circuit judge for Walnut County indicated that he could stand a few more cases from Walnut County.

Typical indictments heard in circuit court for 1969 were as follows: Malicious cutting; robbery; malicious striking; assault and battery; carnal knowledge of a female under 18, with her consent; storehouse breaking, seduction under promise of marriage; dwelling house breaking; driving motor vehicle without owner's consent; damaging and defacing property; failing to comply with orders for maintenance of an infant child; carrying concealed a deadly weapon; obtaining property under false pretenses; cattle stealing; and malicious shooting. The grand jury returned a total of 21 indictments in 1969.

Much of the crime in Walnut County is attributed to outsiders who come from Big Town and other urban areas. These individuals supposedly come into the county, commit their crime (usually robbery), and are out of the county before they can be apprehended. A former sheriff indicated that the

local citizens are generally law abiding except for a "few long hairs" that live in the county.

The county jail is located immediately behind the court house. It is made of concrete blocks and is surrounded by a tall wire fence. It is obviously not a secure facility since at least five prisoners escaped from the jail in 1969. The Grand Jury, which functions as a public facility inspection group, always makes a recommendation that improvements be made on the jail. These recommendations are generally unheeded. One informant pointed out the futility of this inspection by saying that "the same inspection has been made the past 30 years and the same recommendations have also been made." The degraded condition of the facility was recently noted by the state crime commission as it reported that the Walnut County jail was "unfit."

The year 1969 was election year for Walnut County officials, and this year the major office holders simply exchanged positions. This was done because there is a state law in Kentucky which states that the sheriff cannot succeed himself. His term of office, therefore, is limited to four years.

In order for all of the present office holders to maintain a position in county government, they had to "make room" for the sheriff. Four years ago the sheriff became judge, and this year the positions were rotated; the judge became deputy sheriff, the deputy sheriff became sheriff, and the sheriff became judge.

This complete rotation does not always occur. The sheriff and the deputy sheriff can switch jobs without affecting the judge. The deputy sheriff's position, as noted before, is an appointed one and usually the sheriff selects who he wants to serve with him. The sheriff, then, runs for office with his appointed deputy on his ticket.

The 1969 election was spiced with a family battle for the judge's position as all of the three candidates in the democratic primary had family ties. This family battle was, however, not sufficient to cause the electorate to vote in any great numbers. Out of the 2,560 registered Democrats in the county, 1,438 voted in this election. The former sheriff was elected judge on the first ballot.

This year there was Republican opposition for the sheriff's position. The judge was un-contested in the general election. The Republican involvement in the race was probably a result of the fact that on the state level the Republicans are in control, but a few of the local citizens could not "understand the opposition as they (were) Democrats running on a Republican ticket." As it turned out the Democrats had nothing to worry about. They were elected, as one said, "without a battle."

The magistrates and the other elected county officials, however, do not necessarily "run things in Walnut County." It is thought that there are four or five influential members in the community who presently do not hold public office, yet who control the decision-making in the county. During periods in

the past there have been individuals who have been powerful enough to control political events, but presently there is no one individual who has such power. Be that as it may, the political positions in the county do not carry the power that generally exists throughout the rest of Kentucky. In fact, in Walnut County the "court house crew" is somewhat looked down upon by members in the community. "Bout all they do is buy each other coffee in the restaurant across the street from the court house."

The court house itself was built in the late 1800's and is in need of repairs. It is of brick construction with two large white columns gracing the front. The interior is decorated with "roll down desks" and "captain's chairs." Both are antiques which are valued in Walnut County.

There have been movements in the past to improve the appearance of the building itself. A local organization recently decided that it was time to "clean up that mess in the front," referring to the benches and whittlers who are always there. Because of their presence, grass is unable to grow, and it did not present, in the eyes of the organization, a good appearance.

The plan was to remove the loafer's benches and to fence in the two squares on either side of the entrance way. Opposition came from the whittlers, and the judge took their side in the controversy. The organization failed to achieve its objectives. Such are the political battles in Walnut County.

3. City Government

Leveetown is governed by a town council consisting of four part-time members and a part-time mayor. The only full-time city employees are a policeman, a man in charge of the water and sewage systems, and a secretary.

Leveetown is provided water by the city council. The source of supply is the Black River. The fluid is treated in a plant which is situated next to the river and then is sent to a storage tank on a hill overlooking the town, and is fed to the residents by gravity. The water tank has a 100,000 gallon capacity and is generally sufficient to supply the 380 subscribers in town with water. Water is also sold at the treatment plant and is dispensed by a coin activated machine. Water vendors obtain their supply there and carry it all over the county to fill cisterns and to water crops when the rain is insufficient.

Plans are being made to pipe water to most of the county, but presently only Leveetown is supplied with piped water.

Water is scarce throughout the county. There are, therefore, four water vendors who haul water when the individual cisterns are low. Many farmers own their own water trucks and haul their own water. Often milk truck drivers returning from Big Town after carrying in a load of milk, wash out their tanks and haul back water for friends.

Garbage formerly was collected by a man connected with a larger firm in Big Town. He would pick the garbage up once a week and charge \$2.75 per

month for each household and business. It was optional whether or not one chose to sign up for the service. Because of this, the garbage problem was not measurably helped, as a neighbor could refuse the service and the neighborhood would remain unclean.

In 1969 the city contracted with a local man to pick up the garbage. The service is compulsory for everyone in town. The charge is \$2.00 per month and is tacked onto the water bill. Initially there were many problems with the system since some residents did not want to participate; however, the threat of having the water cut off if they did not pay their bill brought "most in line."

There is no garbage collection throughout the rest of the county, and this presents a problem especially to older residents. Normally as much garbage as possible is burned, and the remainder is either piled up in back of the house or is hauled away by a few local haulers in pickup trucks.

In addition to these two main activities, the town council concerns itself with zoning regulations, parking meters, and law enforcement. Of the three, the last is the most difficult problem, since law enforcement is very expensive. "One-third of our entire budget goes to paying policemen's salaries", and good policemen are hard to find. Presently there is a full-time chief of police who has a deputy who works the night shift. On special occasions several other deputies may be employed.

Generally speaking, breeches of the law are for drunkenness, disorderly conduct, parking violations, speeding, and so forth. Just recently the chief of police was assaulted when attempting to make an arrest. It is sometimes difficult for a local boy to enforce the law when violators are long-time friends or relatives.

The city judge is an elected part-time position and is now held by a local businessman. In addition to assigning fines, he sometimes supervises the work activities of those whom he has sentenced in court.

In connection with the services already discussed which are available to the town and county residents, it is fitting to now elaborate on the fire protection system in Walnut County. The county fire department is a volunteer one and is active in the community. The department owns two trucks, one of which has to remain in town if there is a call out in the county. Within the city limits there are water outlets which the trucks can hook up to, but out in the county there is no such system, and the fire department must carry water with the truck.

One of the first things that is done when going to a fire in the county is to look for a supply of water, a pond or a stream, as the water supply on a truck will last only 15 to 20 minutes at most. If a supply of water is located, the hoses can be placed directly in the supply or the tanks on the trucks can be refilled.

There is a fee for joining the fire department. If one is not a member and if he calls the department to his place to fight a fire, he is required to pay a fee for the service. If one is a member of the fire department, there is no charge.

There is a continual debate on whether county residents should join the volunteer fire department. Some say that by the time the truck reaches their house it will be too late to save the building. Others say that the fire department can wet down nearby buildings so as to save them, and thus still provide a service. It is optional whether or not one signs up with the fire department.

The population of Leveetown has remained the same for, as one older gentlemen said, "as long as I can remember." This is not to say that the immediate vicinity around Leveetown has not grown. In recent years two subdivisions and a number of homes have been built just outside the city limits. The reason for the lack of growth in the town proper is that there is no room left to build. As noted previously, the town is surrounded on three sides by water and on one side by a hill. The total land area in the city limits is approximately 60 acres.

Several years ago the city attempted to expand the city limits to include the two new subdivisions. At that time the residents in the subdivision could not perceive any measurable benefits from living in the city limits since the city would not be able to expand their present sewage system. Moreover, these residents could only foresee additional taxes.

They employed a lawyer, therefore, fought the issue, and eventually won. The city limits were not expanded.

The part-time mayor's job in the past was occupied by "individuals with not too much push". The position was perceived as one where an older, retired man could "pick up a little extra money." The present mayor, however, has "worked hard for the city" and has been responsible for a number of improvements, one being the expansion of the city waterworks to include much of the county located on the main highways. Also, a push is presently being made to change the classification of the town from a sixth class city to a fifth class city. This would enable the town to receive Federal funds it is not now eligible to receive.

E. The Walnut County School

Education is the process of transmitting culture from one generation to the next, including skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values, as well as specific behavioral patterns. Equally as important, it is the process whereby old patterns of behavior are unlearned and where new behavior patterns are incorporated. Education, then, includes a dynamic and a stabilizing process.

Formal educational systems perform this function in an important way. They are organized explicitly to transmit culture to the younger generation and are a tool for the diffusion of innovations. Within this setting there is obviously the potential for conflict as there are those individuals who view the school as a stabilizing force in the community and there are those who

view it as a ripe avenue for change. The importance of either of these views in a given community is often a reflection of the values in that community (Spindler 1963: 142); however, as Henry has pointed out, the overwhelming function of the school is to "train the children to fit the culture as it is" (Henry 1963: 287). The school in Walnut County mirrors this later viewpoint.

The centralization of institutions in Walnut County has included the schools. As late as 1929 there were 28 elementary schools for whites and 4 elementary schools for Negroes in the county. At that date there were 1,418 students along with 36 teachers. The schools have been completely consolidated and integrated, as now there is only one school which is located in Leveetown. In 1926 there were slightly more than 100 pupils enrolled in the Leveetown high school. Now there are approximately 1,400 students in the consolidated 1-12 graded school system.

The Leveetown school is a red brick, two story building with grades 1-3 in a separate older building. There is also a separate lunchroom building and a separate agriculture building. There is limited space on the school ground proper, but across the street behind the school is a large lighted ball field with a concrete basketball court where the older students take their recess break. Immediately adjacent to the school are swings and slides for the younger children. The physical facilities may be termed adequate, but there is little room for expansion, as the school is bordered by two streets and a large hill.

The superintendent's office is located within the school itself since there is no separate facility that houses the administration portion of the school program.

The school operates on approximately a \$500,000 yearly budget with 3/5 of this amount coming from the state, approximately \$50,000 from the Federal government, and the remainder from local sources. These funds and the school program are administered by a school board made up of 7 representatives from the various school districts in the county, and a superintendent and school principal.

At the beginning of the 1969-70 school year, 1,336 pupils were attending school from all over the county and these pupils were instructed by 50 teachers, 32 females and 18 males (2 Negro teachers), an average of 26.6 pupils per teacher. The student enrollment per grade was as follows: First, 150; second, 122; third, 127; fourth, 133; fifth, 136; sixth, 111; seventh, 140; eighth, 124; freshmen, 96; sophomore, 84; junior, 69; and senior, 45. There were 46 seniors who graduated from the high school in the May, 1969, commencement ceremonies. The year before the school graduated its largest number of students with 61 seniors receiving their degrees.

The average teacher's salary for the 1968-69 school year was \$4,399.00. This figure, however, does not reflect the total salary since it was computed after deductions. Generally, salaries for these teachers are

thought to be low in comparison to the salaries of surrounding counties, and this presents a problem in obtaining teachers for the schools in Walnut County. One school board member expressed this problem by saying: "We lost many of our good teachers to Big County, as we can't pay them enough." It is felt that the school program is inadequate because "we can't get science, band, or special education teachers. We aren't able to pay them enough."

It is said that financial problems were responsible for securing the present school superintendent. Fifteen years ago, when he was brought into the county to "save the school from bankruptcy," the superintendent began to run a "tight fisted" school where money was involved. Some feel that he has saved the school from bankruptcy for so many years that the overall school program is suffering.

Other than the lack of teachers for the above mentioned classes, course instruction is similar to that in any other school in the United States, but here a somewhat greater emphasis in this rural school is placed on agricultural training and home economics classes on the high school level. Extracurricular activities connected with the school program consist of basketball, baseball (to a lesser degree), the Halloween carnival, the senior play, a teacher-student basketball game, and similar activities. Within the school program the students participate in the Youth Power Club, the Beta Club, the French Club, the math and science club, the Future Homemakers of America, the Future Farmers of America, and 4-H clubs. Furthermore, the

students are organized according to classes on the high school level and plan activities during the year for their class. They also raise money throughout their time in school and before graduation they usually have money remaining from which they make a tangible contribution to the school. During the past few years the senior class has been donating an air conditioner to the school as a "going away present."

Walnut County is one of the 34 in Kentucky that did not play high school football in 1969. Basketball is the largest sporting event in the school, but in recent years, with consolidation, it has become increasingly difficult to compete with the surrounding consolidated schools because of their larger student enrollments. Moreover, being a rural county makes it difficult for coaches to get boys to participate in such sports. Transportation is sometimes a problem, and if boys do not take the bus home after school they are faced with arranging for their own transportation home. In addition, farm chores must be done and the ball players often arrive home late in the evenings or leave early for a game in another county.

Community reactions to the school program are mixed. There exists what has been termed "gentle friction" which has come primarily from the local teacher's organization and the Parent-Teachers Association. The local teacher's organization is called the Walnut County Education Association, and is affiliated with the Kentucky Education Association. The manifest functions of this group is to work for improved educational opportunities, encourage

cooperation among members, and seek higher standards of professional ethics. During the 1967-68 school year the Parent-Teachers Association was "re-activated" and now has a total of 353 members.

The "gentle friction" mentioned above is manifest in the following areas:

1. There is much criticism of the school for not having a school marching band. It seems as if a band is thought to be a symbol of a good school program, and there is continual pressure on the school board to work toward this end. At the recent homecoming parade a marching band from a neighboring school was brought in to perform. Many residents expressed the feeling that Leveetown school should have its own band and not have to go out of the county to secure one for a parade.

2. In the past few years there has been a movement concerned with getting special education classes started in the school. Several school officials say that there is no need for these classes and that they do not have the money to pay for such classes, but other point out a significant number of retarded children in the community and a host of slow learners in the school. They say that something must be done to provide educational experiences for these children. As yet there is no special education class.

3. Beginning in 1970, the Leveetown school will have Educational Television due to a grant from the Federal Government. Criticism has come from parts of the community saying that such expenditure is a waste of money. "What we need is a good band", some residents say.

4. In the past year the PTA has been applying pressure for changes in the school program. Members have concerned themselves with the above mentioned problems and have been working on specific projects for the improvement of the school. In 1968 the PTA raised money and placed a marker in front of the school plant with the name of the school on it. A drive is being conducted to secure new members in this organization, but apathy is cited as a reason for its relative smallness. The organization claimed 353 members for the 1969-70 school year out of a school enrollment of 1,336 pupils. It is said that many of the community parents are concerned only with getting their children out of the house for the day. "They don't care what happens to them once they get to school." A manifestation of this attitude, some PTA members say, is the fact that parents keep their children out of school for the first few weeks to harvest tobacco--a point previously mentioned.

Much of the criticism of the school program is directed at the superintendent. This individual is singled out as the "reactionary force" that prevents needed improvements from taking place in the school, and in this situation the superintendent does present a "conservative front." Spindler (1963: 234) in his analysis of the role of the school administrator, points out that this one person has much to do with the kind of "social and educational institution" the school can become. This is true because he "translates (the) school system ideology and policy into action at the local level, intercepts and transmits sentiment from the classroom teachers and from pupils and

parents back to the central office, and makes decisions that directly affect the way education and cultural transmission will be carried out in the classroom" (Spindler 1963: 234). As noted previously, the superintendent in Walnut County was expressly brought to the county to save the school during a financial crisis; therefore, the initial emphasis that he interjected into the overall school program was on a conservative use of funds. This emphasis has continued to the present day, and it cross-cuts virtually all school activities. Every potential change in the educational program in the Walnut County school, therefore, is judged in terms of its costs, and even though money may be available from outside resources, such as the Federal Government, the program can be, and often is, rejected in terms of this factor alone. This attitude in the administration of the school could have far-reaching consequences after the construction of the Black River Reservoir if student enrollment increases as anticipated.

In summary, the importance of the school in community affairs in Walnut County is marginal. It is not the focus of activities, which is sometimes the case with a rural school. Attending graduation exercises, the Halloween fair, and an occasional basketball game is about the extent of involvement from the community residents. The "our school" spirit concept is simply not widespread in Walnut County, and the interest in improving educational standards in the school is limited to a few individuals. One resident summed up his concern with the school by saying, "What our school needs is six cheerleaders instead of the four that we now have."

F. Religion in Walnut County

Churches dot the countryside in Walnut County. As mentioned previously, religious congregations are the one local institution which has refused to centralize, and in most communities it is all that is left in the way of institutions. A number of these churches were started in the 1880's and continue to be a focal point in community life.

There are eighteen churches scattered throughout Walnut County, and eight of these are in Leveetown itself. The total number of churches today is one less than was present in 1882. Nine of the eighteen churches are Baptist, "This is Baptist country", it is said, with the Christian Church following with three congregations and the Methodist with two. The other denominations have one congregation each, and they are: Catholic; Church of God of Prophecy; Pentecostal; and Assembly of God. Four of these are Negro churches with three being Baptist and one being Methodist (AME). The AME church meets once a month and the others meet each Sunday. The churches in Walnut County are not racially integrated. Here there is a complete separation of races at worship except on special occasions when the ministers in the county exchange pulpits. The physical facilities for these churches range from elaborate brick to simple frame buildings.

Walnut County Baptists are fortunate in the respect that in Big Town there is a large Baptist Seminary which provides the area with young student ministers. With this arrangement both the students and the churches profit,

since the students are able to pay their way through school by ministering to these churches, and the churches are able to pay salaries somewhat less than they normally would pay in order to support a full-time minister. All are aware of the fact that full-time pastors are difficult to obtain. The Methodist and the Christian Churches in Leveetown, for instance, only recently secured pastors after having been without a pastor for nearly one year.

There are no geographical boundaries within the county which restrict the membership of the various churches. On the contrary, as previously mentioned, when rural residents moved to town or moved to other parts of the county they retained their membership in their former churches and continued to commute to these churches. It is not uncommon to drive eight to ten miles to church Sunday morning and night for services. Lifelong friends and acquaintances are in these churches and the desire to maintain these friendships is a motive to commute to church.

The size of the churches varies widely. One rural church has a membership of 250, but only has an average Sunday morning attendance of 50 to 60 persons. The largest churches are located in Leveetown. The Baptist church there has a membership of some 800 and has an average of 225 present Sunday mornings. The Assembly of God church is nearly the same in size as far as regular attendance goes. The other churches are progressively smaller; the Methodist Church has an average of 30 regular members.

The membership in the various churches, "whether we like it or not", is divided along class lines. Later a more detailed description of the social positions in Walnut County will be delineated, but suffice to say here that there are three major divisions: the upper, the middle, and the lower classes. Of course there will be divisions within these major categories.

The upper class residents, small in number comparatively speaking, primarily attend the large Baptist Church in Leveetown. Upper here refers to, among other things, native born, wealthy residents. A few of these individuals attend other Baptist Churches in the county if they happened to have grown up or continue to live in the vicinity in which the church is located. The large middle class refers to most of the farmers, the employees in Leveetown, and the small businessmen. They attend primarily the rural churches, but a number also attend the churches in town. The main churches for the large middle class are the Methodist, the Catholic, the Baptist, and the Christian.

Moving down the class structure there is a shift to the Assembly of God, the Church of God of Prophecy, and the Pentecostal churches. Primarily those individuals in the low class category are found in these churches; however, the tenant farmers and their families are generally restricted to the Pentecostal group and the Church of God of Prophecy. Low here refers to very small farm owners, farm laborers, and low paid hourly workers in Leveetown and the unemployed.

Warner (1941: 82) defines class as "two or more orders of people who are believed to be, and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in socially superior and inferior positions." Following this definition, there are definitely class distinctions in Walnut County; however, difficulties arise in placing individuals within the various classes because the term itself inherently implies sharp distinctions which in reality are unreal. Different individuals have different perceptions of the class structure and who is to be placed in what class. Moreover, there is no one individual characteristic that can be used to place an individual in a particular class. There are a host of characteristics which go together to make up these groupings, and one generic characteristic can be found in the differences between the churches in Walnut County. These differences are found, primarily, in the order of services and the beliefs of the various churches in the county.

This researcher had the opportunity to attend services in six of the eighteen churches in Walnut County, and additional information was gathered from these and five other churches through a survey conducted by the researcher's wife. Sharp distinctions in the churches attended and surveyed were noted.

First, there was a wide range found concerning the presence-absence of formalism in the congregations. The large Baptist Church in Leveetown exemplifies one end of this formal-informal manner of conducting services continuum. Here a printed program was followed to the extent that page

numbers for songs, announcements, prayers, etc., were included. There was no deviation from this program, and all participants in the service performed their functions on cue. At the other extreme, however, the Church of God of Prophecy and the Assembly of God were completely informal. There was no printed program and the service was conducted in a casual manner. In one of these congregations, for instance, when the minister decided that it was time to take up the collection he called out the names of several men in the audience to come forward to pass the offering plates around. Extreme contrasts were found in this area.

Other dichotomies were obvious. The large Baptist Church building is elaborate with carpets, stained glass windows, a formal choir, an organ, air conditioning, and finely finished pews. On the other hand, the Church of God of Prophecy building is of concrete block construction, fogged windows, no carpets, no air conditioning, a piano and guitar only, no choir, and simple, non-stained varnished pews. Another church on this end of the continuum worships in a small store front building in the main part of town. Other contrasts could be noted, but the main emphasis here is on the sharp differences in physical appearances between the two extremes.

There is also a significant difference among the churches regarding the dress patterns acceptable for church attendance. Coats and ties are the norm for the large Baptist Church, but at the opposite pole of the continuum sport shirts and an occasional white shirt and tie are worn.

The differences are further heightened when making a comparison of the belief systems. The large Baptist Church has a full-time professionally trained pastor. His sermons were well-prepared, and he kept to this prepared text. One of the messages heard centered on the necessity of the church in a changing world. He spoke of the highly technological society we live in and the need for the church to adapt its program to these changing conditions. There was no outward emotional expression from the audience during the sermon, and at the end of the service there was no request from the minister for individual commitments to the religion or to the church. Only an opportunity for alignment with the church and its activities was given for prospective members.

The more fundamentalist churches emphasized the necessity of being 'saved' from the danger of "hell fire!" The minister spoke "as the spirit led" and there was no noticeable prepared text. One of the sermons heard centered on a future hell and the need for avoiding this "eternal fire". The differences between the various congregations was recognized by this minister as he jokingly noted that he heard the Methodist Church was raising money in order to air condition hell. At the close of this particular service the congregation was in a highly emotional state for during the sermon the minister attempted to tear down the "light" attitude toward hell and to build up its dangers.

The purpose of this discussion is to illustrate the class differences among the various churches and to note that individuals within the community

attend the various churches according to their level of education, occupation, income and felt need. Those individuals with little formal education, less prestigious occupations, and small incomes find emotional release in the more fundamental churches. Others achieve catharsis at sporting events, movies, auctions, etc. As the level of income and education rises, the need for emotional release in the church decreases.

The fact that the churches are divided along class lines is overtly expressed by many individuals in Walnut County, and this situation is contrary to the many expressions that are made by county residents regarding the equality of all its members. It is interesting to note that Sinha (1966: 189) found the same to be true in Mapletown. Ministers there arranged the churches according to a variety of continua, among them being formal-informal, ritualistic-rational, cold-hot, puritanical-permissive, and authoritarian-democratic. It is significant that within the churches the class differences are overt whereas in normal conversation regarding other areas of life the differences are covert. The behavior in churches which preach the "equality of Christians" and the "fellowship of believers" is not consistent with its beliefs.

Church activities other than the regular services are important. All the churches hold annual picnics, and several have what they call a "family night" once a month where a pot-luck supper is served. The consumption of food apparently is an important activity in connection with the church.

Bible Schools for children are held in many of the churches during the summer. One church has as its missionary effort a Bible School for the Negro Baptist Church. Because of the negative attitudes towards Negroes in the county, this at first was "frowned upon" by many, but is now fairly well accepted in the church.

Activities for the young people are somewhat limited to the large Baptist Church. Because of this, many young people from other congregations participate in its program. The parents realize the need for recreational outlets and allow their children to participate even though it is not their own church. Most other congregations are lacking in youth activities. For some the main youth activity is a church-sponsored softball team in the county-wide league, or a church-sponsored Boy Scout troop.

There is a ministerial alliance made up of the ministers from all the churches in Walnut County, both white and black, and occasionally this organization will sponsor activities. During the summer of 1969, for instance, they went together and sponsored a community-wide revival and a guest evangelist was invited to conduct it. During the Easter season, the ministers exchange pulpits in order to give the congregations an opportunity to hear ministers from other denominations.

The church in Walnut County continues to play an important part in the lives of its residents. It is by far the largest institution, as far as members go, in the county, and functions in a number of different ways, among them being:

1. To provide an avenue where members in the community may participate in group activities thereby satisfying the need to belong. This is exemplified by the many social activities that are carried out by the church such as potluck suppers and social activities before and after church services. In many instances the decision on what church to belong to is based on the quality of interpersonal relations. One informant changed churches because the one he had been attending was "too big" and lacked the close interpersonal relationships that he desired. His decision to change was predicted on the quality of interpersonal relations and not on the quality of the preacher or on the size of the church program. Furthermore, it has already been brought out that membership in many instances is determined by long-standing friendships which often cause inconveniences in time and money in order to commute to church services.

2. The church is involved in socializing the youth by teaching the youth patterns of behavior and providing them a standard of ethics that is approved by the adult population. Youth organizations and activities in the church such as Bible School, Sunday school classes, and "youth night" are manifestations of the importance of this function. One minister summed up this function by saying that youngsters need training. "They need to be equipped to live like the farmer needs good equipment on the farm. What if you had 1,000 acres of farm land and only had one tractor and a twin plow. You would be in bad shape. The same would be true if the youngsters are not equipped to go out into the world as good Christians."

3. The church provides a "world view" (Sinha 1966: 194) for its members. It gives meaning in those areas where there are inconsistencies and doubts, and gives its members an assurance of "knowing" the meaning of human existence. As a result, it helps give comfort when there is death, and furthermore, it sanctifies marriage (Sinha 1966: 195).

4. It functions to integrate the community. The geographical distribution that is found in the various congregations and the coordinated activities of the churches in the county help to provide the residents of the county with a feeling of unity -- of belonging to the wider community.

There are signs, however, that the church is losing importance. Several congregations have noted a decrease in attendance during the past few years and one denomination has ceased having Sunday night services. Television and other individual activities are commanding more of the time of the church members. One minister said that some of his members would "rather go to an auction than come to church." Another example of the change is that funerals, once held in the church, are now held predominantly in one of the two funeral homes.

The disposal of the dead in previous years had several functions, the primary one obviously being the actual burial of the deceased individual. It also functioned as a social occasion and as a manifestation of the friendship networks associated with the deceased individual's family. Friends and relatives would bring food to the family and at the same time would visit and

offer their condolences. The actual funeral was a culmination of this friendship as all friends would come together for the last rites. This service was nearly always held in the church itself as is manifest by the location of the cemetery adjacent to many of the churches today.

This pattern has changed in recent years. Instead of going to the home to visit with the family, now one member of the family is always present at the side of the casket in the funeral home to greet those friends who come by to pay their respects and to view the deceased. This pattern today is more of an expression of respect for the family as opposed to close friendship. Many, in fact, feel this to be an obligation and they fulfill this obligation by going to the funeral home. This is not to say that visitation does not take place at the home. It continues to occur, but at a lesser level than previously. Food is still sometimes brought to the family but not to the extent that it formerly was.

Nearly all funerals today are held in one of the two local funeral homes as opposed to holding it in the church. Occasionally when a very influential member of the community dies, the funeral is held in the church so as to accommodate more people.

The two funeral homes are said to be divided along class lines with the upper class holding their funerals in the more exclusive funeral home. Embalming services are not provided in this funeral home. The body is taken to a nearby town where it is embalmed and where the family chooses a

casket. The other funeral home accommodates the less affluent members of the community, including Negroes, and as a result performs more funerals and has a greater gross income.

Burial takes place in any number of cemeteries throughout the county. Many churches have their own cemetery located next to the church, and there are numerous small family cemeteries in the county. The trend, however, is to be buried in the large, public cemetery located just outside Leveetown. Negroes are buried in their own cemetery -- a cemetery previously utilized by whites, but now only Negroes are buried there. A few years ago a Negro was buried in the large white cemetery just mentioned. There was quite a stir about it in the community and a lawyer was asked to check on the legality of the matter. After investigation it was found that nothing could be done to prevent it, so the Negro was eventually buried there.

The funeral homes, then, have virtually taken over a previous function of the church and attitudes towards funerals are continuing to change.

The church's influence in Walnut County is, however, still so significant that it deserves considerably more attention than has been devoted here.

G. Voluntary Associations

There is a host of formal and informal voluntary associations in Walnut County. Some of the more important ones will be listed and briefly discussed here.

The three main service clubs in the community are the Rotary Club, the Ruritan Club, and the Business and Professional Women's Club. The Rotary and Ruritan Clubs are exclusively men's organizations, the Rotary having a more restricted membership than the Ruritan. Both are "service" organizations in that they sponsor activities which are community focused.

The Rotary Club is involved in many community activities, among which are: raising money to purchase glasses for children who cannot afford them, sponsoring a foreigner who lives in the community during the summer months, and helping administer various community functions such as the county fair. Membership in this organization is more exclusive and is restricted to professional men from the community.

The Ruritan Club membership is much more inclusive. As it was explained, the goal is to have an organization for the rural as well as the town men. They, likewise, are involved in community activities. They raise money by selling soft drinks and food at auctions and other local events. This money goes to purchasing clothes, glasses, food, and so on, for indigents. The club has contact with school teachers who make recommendations concerning what children need assistance. It is noteworthy that the Ruritan Club is the only racially integrated club or church in Walnut County. Few in the community realize this fact, but the organization has been successful with this project. All of its activities are racially integrated.

There is some rivalry between the two organizations, albeit covert. The Rotary's restricted membership encourages the Ruritan Club to strive harder to be successful, and some Rotary members feel that the Ruritan Club is taking on many projects for the "credit" they can get in the community. "They brag about what they are doing. We just continue silently doing what we have been doing for years," it is said.

Both organizations meet once a month. The Rotary has its meal catered, while the Ruritan Club has a potluck supper arrangement.

The other important service organization is the Business and Professional Women's Club. There are a large number of women who work in Leveetown, and this organization attempts to draw the women together. It is also involved in community affairs. One of its activities was mentioned earlier as it attempted to improve the outward appearance of the Court House. It also sponsors a 'youth night' where the various clubs associated with the school are invited to one of its meetings and it participates in the Homecoming and County Fair events.

Membership in these organizations is generally restricted to middle and upper class residents. Members are largely Baptist.

There is also a Fish and Game Club and a Coon Hunting Club in the county. These are men's organizations which are outdoor oriented, as the names imply. The Fish and Game Club uses a farm which it is purchasing. On this farm it has a skeet and trap shooting range and a pond for fishing. Monthly meetings are pot-luck suppers.

In addition to these there are many smaller informal clubs and organizations such as bridge playing groups, couples clubs, and music groups. These are informal friendship groups which meet together periodically to visit with each other. They are too numerous to mention here.

The Chamber of Commerce is made up of businessmen from Leveetown. They meet monthly for a catered meal and discuss problems relevant to the business community such as attracting new industry to the area and expanding the water system. A drive is presently underway to raise \$7,500 so that a small manufacturing company will be able to receive a Small Business Administration loan which would enable them to get the business underway. The Chamber of Commerce is heading up this drive. Other than this prospective industry, there are no future plans for attracting others.

The Chamber of Commerce also sponsors a St. Patrick's benefit dance in order to raise funds to improve the Leveetown community center. The community center is owned by the Chamber and it rents the building out to interested groups for a pre-set fee.

H. Living Standards in Walnut County

Walnut County residents differ in their perception of local poverty. Middle class and upper class residents fail to see that indigents are any problem at all. Poverty is always somewhere else as exemplified in comments such as: "The people in Eastern Kentucky are no good, lazy, shiftless, and are looking for handouts," while the "people in Western Kentucky are hard-

working, industrious, and thrifty." In referring to Walnut County these same people do not see that the lack of a sufficient income is a problem. As quoted before, one resident said, "Walnut County is what I would call a substantial middle-class community." "There are no real rich people or poor people in Walnut County. There is no need for anyone to go hungry here. Anybody that wants to work can make it." "There are no millionaires in Walnut County, but at the same time there are no paupers." "We're all middle class here in Walnut County." According to Gorer (1948: 213) this basic belief in equality is held "unquestioningly by about seven-eighths of the population of the United States." A more thorough investigation, however, reveals that this belief in equality does not stand, and the income of individuals is one of the most visible factors that separates people. In Walnut County most residents believe that there is somewhat of a problem with poverty in the county, but the blame for the condition rests on the people themselves as reflected by statements such as "Sure, we have some people on welfare here, but half of these could get jobs if they wanted them."

Walnut County is wealthy compared to many other counties in the state of Kentucky, but its wealth is a recent development. In 1950, for instance, there were 1,485 families out of a total of 1,840 in the county that earned incomes less than \$3,000. In 1960 this figure had changed to 469 out of a total of 880 families, or in percentage terms, 80 percent of the families in 1950 earned less than \$3,000 while only 53 percent of the families had the same

income for 1960. An income of \$3,000 or less for a family of four is considered to be in the poverty range by the Office of Economic Opportunity.

The case load for the Kentucky Department of Public Welfare in Walnut County for March of 1969 was as follows: Aged, 96; Disabled, 27; Aid for Dependent Children, 42; Aid for Dependent Children - Medicare Card Only, 12.

The state welfare worker in the county disagrees with the statements made previously by county residents, in the sense that what poverty is found in the county is just as severe as that poverty found in Eastern Kentucky, and very little is being done to rectify the situation. The welfare worker said that ideally she would be working directly with the people to help them come out of their present condition, but since she is the only person presently employed in the county in this capacity, she must keep the office open and is unable to get directly to the people. All she is doing is "checking eligibility and seeing that the people are getting their payments." This situation supports the current hypothesis in the community that says all the welfare department is doing is "giving away money." "The people don't understand what I am trying to do," the welfare worker said.

The Walnut County Health Department is supervised by a county board of health consisting of local doctors and county officials. Presently the department is staffed with a part-time health officer who comes to the county twice a week, a local registered nurse, and a clerk-typist. The sanitarian

resigned this year in order to take a better paying job in Big County. The activities of the department centers around recording births and deaths, immunizations, school health examinations, and pre- and postnatal health clinics. The former sanitarian made periodic visits to business establishments in the county.

The work of the health department is so routine that these workers, too, are "misunderstood" by community residents. Many cannot see what they do as they point out that there is no sanitation man presently working. Health personnel say that much of their work is conducted out in the county through the home visit method and this work is not seen by the town people. Therefore, because of the lack of communication between the health department and the community residents such comments as "the only thing they do is run the kids through like a herd the first year for their health examinations," and "as far as I'm concerned, they give away \$100 per month for the dog catcher."

The Public Welfare and Public Health programs are not well thought of in Walnut County. As mentioned above, much of this is due to the lack of communication between the individuals occupying the posts and the general public.

I. Recreational Activities

Up to this point the discussion of Walnut County has centered on the economy and other service and social institutions, but obviously such activities end at some point during the day, and what people do with their leisure time

becomes important. Recreational activities can indicate prevalent values in a community, and it is to this area we presently turn our attention.

Formerly many of the leisure activities in the county were associated with productivity as exemplified in quilting bees, sorghum making (Smith and Stoffle 1969), hog-killing and other such cooperative work activities. Events such as these allowed friends to get together to visit and share food memories. These activities were conducted after the normal day's work has been completed, and were viewed as enjoyable occasions even though they were product-oriented.

Rarely, however, are such activities seen today in Walnut County. Recreational activities have shifted to other interests, and the shift has been dramatic. The most significant shift has occurred in the change from group activities to individual activities. Today in Walnut County there are few individuals who are not involved in collecting some item of perceived value.

Collecting is a value in Walnut County, and a value, according to Kluckhohn (1952: 395) is "a conception... of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action." The items collected in Walnut County range from knives, coins, bottles, and books to furniture, farm implements, and automobiles. Emphasis is placed on old items which are scarce. The greater the degree of these two qualities, the more highly valued the item. Great expense and time commitments are invested in the area of antique collecting.

Items such as mentioned above are normally collected at auctions which are widespread in the county and the state. Often when a farm is sold, all of the household contents are sold with it, and large advertisements in the local paper telling of sales are of great interest in the community. Going to such auctions is, in itself, a recreational activity. "I'd rather go to an auction than eat," is a typical reaction to such activities. While attending one of these auctions, individuals seek out those items they are interested in and then bid according to their anticipated value. Invariably if one does not finally purchase the item, one feels that the successful bidder paid too much for it.

Once an individual makes a personal commitment to collect a certain item, he devotes considerable time to building up his collection and then displaying it in his home. It is not uncommon, therefore, for a home to look like a museum. Items are displayed so that friends may view with envy what has been collected.

There are two proposed explanations for this behavior, and both are expressed by the collectors. First, prestige comes to the individual who has a fine collection (Erasmus 1961: 12; Riesman 1954: 16). "If you collect an item for two years you'll be known in the county, five years you'll be known in the state, and 10 years you'll be known across the United States." A great deal of personal satisfaction comes from knowing that what you have collected is wanted by someone else.

The second motivation for this collecting behavior comes from its dollar value. "I look on collecting as an investment. Instead of investing in stocks, I collect knives," implying that the items increase in value and are a financial savings for the future. "When I get old and need the money I'll begin selling my collection," it is said. Rarely, however, does one sell. "I buy and never sell. Recently we were offered a brand new Olds, for our Hupmobile, but I wouldn't sell it for the world."

The importance of antique collecting in Walnut County is great, as literally hundreds of individuals devote much of their time and money to digging for valued items or traveling great distance to auctions, antique shows, and "Flea Markets." Without doubt antique collecting is the most widespread single recreational outlet for Walnut County residents. As one minister put it, "People are more interested in antiques than they are in church." This in itself is a radical change in the social life of Walnut County residents.

There are a number of spectacular events in the community which draw the community residents together. Among them are horse shows, tractor pulls, horse pulls, and the annual Homecoming and County Fair. During the summer months virtually every weekend sees some community-wide activity of one of these types.

A local family has constructed a horse arena just outside the Leveetown city limits where horse shows and tractor pulls are held. Large crowds are generally present at these functions. Participants in the horse

shows come from all over the county and state. In fact, at one horse show license plates were noted from nine states, and obviously not all plates were observed. These are primarily riding shows and prizes are offered to the various classes entered. Since many of the participants are from out of the county, the primary recreational value of this activity for Walnut County residents comes from being a spectator. More often than not the horse shows are held on Sunday afternoon, and this fact has caused concern on the part of a number of county residents who believe that the "Sabbath day should be kept holy."

Tractor pulls are also popular in the county. As explained to this researcher, farming is most important in the county and every farmer owns a tractor. It is a part of his trade and he knows it well. Therefore, it is only natural that he would be interested in an activity that involves this kind of equipment. Competition in tractor pulls centers around the amount of weight a tractor can pull. A large sled weighted down with concrete blocks is attached to the tractor. The tractor begins pulling this weight down a predetermined path. Along side this path are 20-25 men stationed at various distances. As the tractor reaches the men, they board the sled to give it additional weight. When the tractor can no longer pull the weight, the distance traveled is measured and the next tractor starts its pull. The tractor that pulls the heaviest weight the greatest distance wins a percentage of the \$10 entrance fees that all entrants must pay. Second and third place winners also get a portion of this entrance fee.

The promoters of the event collect \$1.00 from each spectator and sell concessions during the lengthy session. Often the pull lasts till 3:00 and 4:00 A. M. , as there are numerous weight classes which must pull.

The promoters have captured a value in Walnut County, that is, the value of a particular piece of farm equipment. The enjoyment from observing such an event comes from cheering for the tractor you want to win and by listening to the tractors work. "You have to have owned a tractor to appreciate a tractor pull." "If you know the different model tractors you can tell just how hard they are pulling by the sound." "Hearing a tractor pull is the most beautiful sound I know."

Horse pulls are operated in a similar manner with the exception that men do not board the sled. The weight only must be pulled a pre-set distance before more weight is added. The horse team that pulls the heaviest weight the full distance is declared the winner. The horse pull held in Walnut County the past summer was billed as the World's largest horse pull. It was said that 13 states were represented in the competition, and it was held in conjunction with the Walnut County Fair. The promoters who operate the tractor pulls were responsible for the horse pull.

In contrast to acceptance of the tractor pulls, there is a measure of community opposition to horse pulls. Many say that horse pulls are cruel to the animals and that the horses are shot with stimulants before they pull. Horse enthusiasts say that the horses are bred for pulling and that they are doing

only what they are meant to do. Opposition is minimized, however, in that all proceeds above operating expenses are donated to the school. Usually this amounts to nearly \$3,000. Several thousand people attend each night of the two-night meet.

The two Walnut County events that are limited to community residents are the Annual Homecoming and the Walnut County Fair, which are held in the summer.

The Homecoming celebration was initiated by a former Kentucky governor who suggested that this might be a good thing for Kentucky counties. It is held once a year on a Saturday and attracts most of Walnut County's residents.

Homecoming begins with a parade led by a marching band and followed by county officials, homecoming officials, beauty queen contestants, floats, antique automobiles, decorated bicycles, horses, and tractors. The band, as noted before, was brought in from a neighboring county in 1969. Beauty contestants were riding on automobiles, and the floats were sponsored by civic clubs, churches, and local businesses. Each float and antique automobile was judged as part of the competition.

After the parade all spectators gathered in front of the court house around a decorated flat-bed trailer. The queen and princess were selected by a drawing. This year, since there were black and white contestants, it was decided that the fair way to judge them would be by drawing a name out of

a hat. Following the crowning, prizes were given to the winners of the float and antique automobile competition. Prizes were also given to the oldest person present and the person who traveled the farthest to come to the Homecoming celebration.

During the remainder of the afternoon country music groups performed, and there was some dancing in the street. The community center was opened to the public as there were antique and art displays available for viewing. Also that afternoon a picnic was held for antique automobile owners.

Homecoming is a festive occasion in Walnut County. Children and adults alike look forward with great anticipation for the day's events. One afternoon several weeks before the celebration, this researcher overheard a young boy asking an adult when Homecoming was to be held. When informed of the day, he summed up the feeling of many by simply replying, "Hot dog!"

Two weeks after homecoming is the Walnut County Fair. A Fair Board organizes the activities and sees to it that they are carried out. The task of the board is large, as there are many activities going on during the three-day event.

Traditionally the county fair is an important occasion for the young and old. Young people and adults enjoy exhibiting their results of the various projects they have been working on during the year. Ribbons and prize money are given for the following sample of products: tobacco, corn, and other farm crops; the showing of prize cattle, both milk and beef; arts and crafts;

a dog show and a baby show, and each night there is some large event for the general public. In 1969 there was a horse show, a tractor pull, and a horse pull.

An outside company also brings in rides for the fair. There are also the traditional chance games with teddy bears and gold fish given as prizes. These activities seem to command a great deal of interest.

Numerous organizations set up booths from which they sold drinks and food in order to raise money. Approximately fifteen such booths were set up at the fair in 1969.

The Walnut County Homecoming and Fair are of great interest to the community residents, and both activities offer the members of the community a chance to get together to enjoy themselves. Each definitely functions to solidify the community. These are the two events which reinforce the resident's awareness that he is a part of a community and not merely an isolated individual.

The recreational activities discussed up to this point attract the greatest number of people in Walnut County. There are other such activities, however, which deserve to be mentioned even though they are not as dramatic as those already discussed.

Hunting and fishing activities are generally engaged in by older people rather than younger people, unless, however, there is an element of risk involved. The risk normally is found in illegal activities connected with

hunting and fishing. Seining and catching catfish by hand during the spawning season are the most popular. Both young and old enjoy this sport (the sport seems to be in trying not to get caught by the game warden rather than in catching fish), and such activities are topics of many discussions.

The same holds true for hunting, since hunting foxes and rabbits with lights at night is illegal, and the risk of getting caught is also present. Activities such as these are enjoyable, for, as one informant said, "Anything fun is either illegal or immoral."

Fishing places are found in farm ponds and in the river which flows through the county. One farmer charges \$1.00 per day to fish in his pond, but most farmers allow their friends to fish for free. Occasionally urbanites from Big County come to Walnut County to fish and will ask for permission to fish in the farmers' ponds.

A number of the farmers do not like to fish, for they say they are "out doors all day working on the farm", and when they want relaxation they "go to a gun show or collect antiques." "When I'm out fishing I think of all my farm problems and simply can't enjoy it."

A few of the more affluent members of the community have started playing golf. The nearest golf course is approximately 30 miles away. One must have sufficient leisure time and money to enjoy this sport. Interest in this area is increasing, as is exemplified by a recent attempt to build a golf course in the county. The project "fell through", but the idea is still present.

As mentioned before, there is a county-wide church softball league which continues through the summer. This activity generates considerable enthusiasm both among spectators and participants. Games are held two nights a week on the lighted school ball field, and leagues are organized for young boys and girls as well as the men's league mentioned above.

There is little for young people to do in the way of recreation. The only movie theater in town was closed down several years ago because it "couldn't compete with television." Generally speaking, the youths ride around town or "drag" on the country roads, and often take dates to Big Town for a movie. The local restaurants are a favorite meeting place, and are often crowded with young people. Other than this there are few organized youth activities other than those affiliated with the school or the church.

Adults sometimes go to Big Town for recreation. Thirty minutes away are large shopping centers, dance floors, and movie theaters. Quite often some drive to Big Town for Sunday dinner. Nearness to this urban center probably partially accounts for the lack of interest in providing organized activities for the youth in Walnut County. Television, as noted before, has also assumed an important place in the lives of the county residents.

Planned vacations are rare for farmers, as their presence on the farm is usually required 365 days a year. This is especially true for dairy farmers, but also holds true for others. Moreover, it was noted previously

that many of the Walnut County's commuters take their vacation to coincide with the tobacco harvest. Planned vacations are not widespread in Walnut County except among those individuals involved in "public work," that is, anything other than farming.

When vacations are taken, interstate travel is valued. The children of many older community residents have moved from the county, so that parents attempt to visit them during their vacations. Otherwise, popular places to visit for Walnut County residents are Chicago, New Orleans, Florida, and North Carolina. Interstate travel is on the rise in the community.

Conversely, rarely does an outsider visit Walnut County. The only exception would be to visit families that live in the community, and this occurs frequently. If, on the other hand, an outsider who wished to visit the county had no relatives or friends in the community, he would be forced to camp outdoors, since there are no overnight accommodations available in the county. In fact, housing is a severe problem in the county. An example of this housing shortage was manifest during the summer of 1969 when a new County Extension Agent attempted to find a home to rent or purchase. Many residents in the county were on the "lookout" for a place for him and several months were required to locate a home for him. The county very nearly "lost this agent because there were no rent houses available."

The discussion of leisure time activities has, as was suggested, brought to light several important values in Walnut County. First, it is

easy to see that by far the greatest number of leisure activities are associated in some way with the farm and the "rural way of life." The tractor pull, the horse pull, the county fair, the homecoming activities, hunting, and fishing are activities that directly concern the farmer or are outdoor activities which are readily accessible to him. Farm animals, farm equipment, and wildlife are a large part of his daily experience. Second, there has been a shift in values from cooperative group activities to individual pursuits as is exemplified by widespread antique collecting. This shift could easily be a pre-adaptation to future urban influences.

J. Social Stratification

Many residents of Walnut County deny that there are various groups in the community which are differentially thought about. Comments such as "We're all middle class in Walnut County," refers to an ideal which is focused in on as a reality. Data contrary to this viewpoint are merely not accepted in the cognitive framework. They are rejected immediately as being untrue.

Yet every complex society that has been analyzed by social scientists have proven to be stratified (Kahl 1961: 14), and it is purported that this stratification is necessary in order for the numerous functions of society to be carried out (Davis 1949: 293). W. Lloyd Warner probably best describes this necessity by stating that:

"...when a society is complex, when there are large numbers of individuals in it pursuing diverse and complex activities and functioning in a multiplicity of ways, individual positions and behaviors

are evaluated and ranked. This happens primarily because, to maintain itself, the society must co-ordinate the efforts of all its members into common enterprises necessary for the preservation of the group, and it must solidify and integrate all these enterprises into a working whole. In other words, as the division of labor increases and the social units become more numerous and diverse, the need for co-ordination and integration also increases and, when satisfied, enables the larger group to survive and develop" (Warner 1949: 8).

The results of this necessary division, according to Warner, can be a class system (Warner 1941: 82).

The members of a society differentiate between a combination of variables from which they arrive at a somewhat broad category in which to place individuals of that society. There are, however, a host of variables that can come into play when making such classifications, and what variables are chosen in a society are situationally determined. Vidich (1958: 51-52) based his class distinctions in terms of production activity, patterns of consumption and other forms of social and economic behavior. Kahl (1961: 13) utilized prestige, occupation, possessions, interaction, class consciousness, and value orientation in his analysis, and Warner (1941) primarily based his divisions on consumption, prestige, and interaction. Each writer, therefore, makes use of those variables he deems important after determining what the people he studies manifestly and latently utilize in making the actual divisions in the specific cultural context.

In this report, the use of the concept "class" does not imply a specific group to which individuals belong. Nor does it imply a scale by which members

of the community are ranked. Rather, the concept "class" in this report refers to a number of variables that are combined in certain ways which distinguish three "orders of people" that Walnut County residents recognize, and these are most basic groupings since finer distinctions could be made from a closer examination.

In Walnut County it did not take long to discover that differences between groups were real and often rather sharply demarcated. There were those who perceived themselves to be "better" than some and "not as good" as others, and in a short period of time real groupings appeared to the observer. Since this section of the report is concerned with a general socio-economic description of Walnut County, a detailed analysis of the social stratification will not be made. Rather, a survey of the basic class groups which community residents perceive to be present, along with basic referents for each, will be delineated. Hopefully a more detailed analysis may be made in the future.

There are five primary variables which, in various combinations, define an individual or family's class position in Walnut County. They are: place of birth; financial position; occupational position; religion; and ethnic background. Each will be discussed in turn.

1. Place of Birth. As Warner discovered in Yankee City, place of birth is an important factor when determining the difference between upper and middle class residents (Warner 1941: 93). It is a definite advantage to be born in Walnut County to parents who are lifelong residents. No matter how

long one lives in the county, he is remembered as an "outlander" on an "outsider" if he migrated there. Individuals who have resided in the county for 30 or 40 years are still not thought of as "natives." Even the offspring of such persons, even though they were born in the county, are remembered as the children of those who moved there so many years ago. No matter how hard one works or how much money he makes, he can never achieve this status in the community. It is an ascribed status based on factors over which the individual has no control, and is an important factor especially when classifying upper class residents.

2. Financial Position. Financial security to the extent that one does not have to worry about future earnings is a value in Walnut County. Thus, financial security is an "end of action" (Kluckhohn 1952: 395) for many county residents. Admittedly there are few individuals who fall within this category, but those who do are envied. One informant expressed this value when, referring to another individual, he said, "He could quit work today and never have to worry about a thing." Apparently it makes no difference how this security was achieved. Some inherited it from ancestors who invested wisely in land. For these, "You have to give them credit for keeping it." Others have invested wisely in stocks over the years or have "worked their way to the top." These individuals are paragons in the community. For the purposes of this paper, this financial position is referred to as "secure."

Following this category are those individuals who are self-employed or salaried and earn incomes which enable them to purchase material goods without having to worry much about the expense. They live in elaborate homes, drive new automobiles, go to Big Town to purchase clothes, travel widely, and are a "success" in terms of the amount of money they earn. The primary difference between this position and the one mentioned above is that they are dependent on continued employment to maintain their position. "Affluent" is the term used to refer to this position.

The next position refers to the largest group of people in the community. They earn steady incomes which are sufficient to provide them with the necessities of life plus a degree of affluence which enables them to purchase luxury items in moderation. They must budget their earnings wisely in order to be able to afford these luxury items, which distinguishes them from the next position. This group is referred to as having incomes which are "adequate", meaning that they can afford a few luxury items.

"Inadequate" refers to those individuals who earn incomes insufficient to purchase luxury items. They are concerned more with securing the necessities and no more. Necessities here refers to food, a simple dwelling -- rented or owned -- an automobile, usually an older model, and clothing. These individuals are usually paid on an hourly basis, are tenant farmers, or are on welfare.

3. Occupational Position. There are certain occupations that are preferred in Walnut County, but the primary criterion for success in this area is to be self-employed. To own one's own farm or business is a value for which many strive, for when one is self-employed he obviously does not have to answer to anyone but himself and he becomes "independent" and "self-sufficient" -- values in Walnut County. Moreover, Warner (1941: 261) found that there was a high correlation between type of occupation and class in Yankee City. By far the greatest number of self-employed were from the Upper Middle to the Upper Upper class. This situation would undoubtedly hold true in Walnut County.

As pointed out earlier, mechanization of the farm led to larger land holdings and greater financial investments, so that the smaller farmer, no matter how much he wanted to remain, was forced to find employment elsewhere, as he could not maintain the desired financial position discussed above. Suffice it to say that these individuals are maintaining jobs they do not particularly enjoy only because they value income above occupational position.

Other than being self-employed, preferred occupations are ranked in this order: salaried workers; hourly workers; tenant farmers; and finally, welfare recipients.

4. Religion. The Protestant religion is the dominant one in Walnut County, and one who does not belong to this generic group is immediately looked on as "suspect". It is a mark against one if he is not of this group,

and this one factor keeps the individual from being considered in the highest position in the county. A Catholic may, however, be eligible to occupy any position other than the highest.

The Protestant churches are also divided according to prestige in the community and are ranked by the people as follows: Baptist, Christian, Methodist, Assembly of God, Pentecostal, and Church of God of Prophecy. Of the Baptist congregations, the large Baptist Church in Leveetown is the most prestigious and the others are of approximate equal value.

5. Ethnic Background. There are two ethnic groups in Walnut County -- whites and Negroes -- and the ratio of white to black is 17:1. Being black is a definite disadvantage in the community.

The dominant group does not perceive that prejudice is a reality in the community. Conversely, whites truly believe that they are fair and cordial to their black neighbors and are not prejudiced. Expressions obtained from a widespread sample of the population show, however, that prejudice is a reality in the county. The following comments illustrate this dichotomy between the two groups: "We have a good bunch of niggers in this county. You hardly ever get one in jail." "That family is well respected as colored people!" "We have nice colored people here, but when they act up they are just niggers." "We have some high class Negroes here. Some of them nearly come up to the low class whites in Walnut County." "There's no getting around it, the Negro hasn't got the same mentality as whites. It's in the breeding.

Whites are superior intellectually." "Niggers are lazy, shiftless, and have no responsibility." As a result, blacks can occupy only the lower positions in the county, and their mobility is severely limited.

Table VII shows the relationship between the variables just discussed to a basic social class model in Walnut County. This is much too general, but for the present it illustrates what variables are necessary for the various social class positions the community residents perceive. For instance, in order for one to fall within the upper class position he must (1) be a native of Walnut County; (2) have a secure or affluent financial position; (3) be either self-employed or salaried; (4) be a Baptist; and (5) be white.

At the other pole, the low category, the following variables are pertinent: (1) place of birth is not important; (2) income is adequate to inadequate; (3) financial position is either hourly worker, tenant farmer, or welfare recipient; (4) one is a member of the Assembly of God, Church of God of Prophecy, Pentecostal, or Negro churches, or one is not a member of any congregation; (5) one is either white or black.

All this schema does is to show a ranking of values in Walnut County. It does not purport to be dogmatic in that one must fall within certain categories to be in one of the three major groups; rather, it illustrates the ideal positions. Furthermore, there is a wide variation within each category and a similar such analysis could be made for each large grouping.

TABLE VII
BASIC CLASS MODEL FOR WALNUT COUNTY

	<u>UPPER</u>	<u>MIDDLE</u>	<u>LOW</u>
Place of Birth			
Walnut County	X	X	X
Outside County		X	X
Financial Position			
Secure	X	X	
Affluent	X	X	
Adequate		X	X
Inadequate			X
Occupational Position			
Self-employed	X	X	
Salaried	X	X	
Hourly		X	X
Tenant			X
Welfare			X
Religion			
Protestant			
Baptist	X	X	X
Christian-Methodist		X	
Assembly of God		X	X
Church of God of Prophecy			X
Pentecostal			X
Catholic		X	X
Ethnic Background			
White	X	X	X
Negro			X

Reading the schema from top to bottom it can be seen that in a number of places the categories overlap each other. For instance, the middle class position includes all categories relevant for placement in the upper class position. This only points out that the final evaluation of an individuals' class position in the community is made in terms of the personal characteristics of that individual by members of the community. Furthermore, this seeming contradiction is explained by the fact that the combinations of the various values are numerous. One may, for example, be a native to Walnut County, have a secure financial position, be self-employed, be white, yet belong to the Catholic Church and be placed in the middle class position. There are numerous possibilities in the Middle and Lower Class positions.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS OF INTEGRATION IN WALNUT COUNTY

The concept "cultural integration" was offered at an earlier portion of this study as an important concept to the study of planned change. Basically, the concept refers to the total configuration of a culture whose parts are, to various degrees, mutually adjusted to each other. Linton discusses this concept at length in 1936 and pointed out that while no culture is perfectly integrated, there occurs in all cultures the "process of integration" which simply refers to a progressive process of a "more and more perfect adjustment between the various elements which compose the total culture" (Linton 1936: 348).

The relevance of the concept "cultural integration" to this study lies in the process of change, for when any new cultural element is introduced into a culture, adjustments must be made in the total configuration to make room for the new element. In other words, in any process of cultural change a certain amount of disintegration and reintegration occur in order to "fit" the new element into the total culture.

What we are concerned with at this point is the degree of cultural integration found in Walnut County, and, more specifically, what processes are involved which give rise to the integration of the culture at the present time.

Since the interrelationships of the elements within a culture are complex and require an extensive analysis in order to fully describe them, a complete description will not be made. Rather, attention here will focus on a few of the factors involved integrating the various individuals in Walnut County.

The concept "function" is basic to an analysis of cultural integration for, as Radcliffe-Brown has stated, "... it involves the notion of a structure consisting of a set of relations amongst unit entities" (Radcliffe-Brown 1935: 396). In other words, in the present analysis we can look at two aspects of society: (1) the structures that are present in the community, and (2) how the various structures function to give continuity to the whole. Equally as valid, but not a concern of this study, would be an analysis of the functions of the structures for the individuals in the community.

In much of the previous discussion of the institutions in Walnut County, mention has been made of the basic functions of the various institutions for the integration of the whole. A portion of the following will, therefore, be repetitious, but the addition of other functions should provide a more holistic picture to life in Walnut County.

Warner (1941: 35) said that in any given community there are one or more institutions which tend to pervade the society more than others and that these institutions serve the important function of integrating the whole. Economic institutions and the churches are the most important factors contributing to the integration of Walnut County.

1. Economic Institutions

As brought out earlier, there is a functional dependence on the economic institutions in Leveetown by the county residents, since this is the service center for the county. As a result, when county residents desire to make purchases, they normally drive to Leveetown. While there they usually extend the duration of the trip to visit with friends. Leveetown is a common meeting place in the community. It is a place where news is disseminated and pleasantries are exchanged.

Geographically Leveetown is centrally located in the county; thus, most of the county residents, even those who reside near the county line, travel there at least every week and normally more often than that. The five general stores out in the county are stocked with those items that help to carry over a family until a member can get to town, and thus do not begin to supply all of the basic needs of a family.

Economic and service institutions, therefore, are the single most important integrating factor in Walnut County. Their manifest function is the exchange of goods and services, but the latent function (Merton 1957: 19-84), which can supercede in importance the manifest function, is to integrate county residents. This function is rarely expressed by county residents.

2. Churches

As noted under the section on Religion, the churches are scattered throughout Walnut County. It would be an entirely different situation if the

membership in these churches was restricted to the immediate geographical vicinity of the church. This is not, however, the case. Rather, all of the rural and town churches have a wide-spread geographical membership. Some town people attend the rural churches they grew up in or they value the small, informal church as opposed to the large impersonal church. In either case, the primary point here is that there is an exchange of persons in the churches. Literally there is a thorough mixing of rural and town people in the Walnut County churches. This interchange obviously is important for the integration of the community. It tends to prevent a polarization of town and rural residents, and definitely assists in the exchange of ideas and a sharing of values. If anything, a polarization would first occur among the various denominations, but presently this is partially prevented by the Walnut County Ministerial Alliance.

This organization functions to unite rather than separate the denominations in the county. The ministers who comprise this organization work together for the common interest of giving cohesion to the various churches. They do this by planning special county-wide church activities such as the mass revival that was held late last summer, and through the exchange of ministers during the Easter season.

The economic institutions and the churches are the two most important factors which pervade the community and function to integrate the whole. Their importance cannot be overemphasized.

Peripheral Integrating Institutions

Peripheral integrating institutions in Walnut County are the school, the voluntary associations, the county-wide recreational activities, the county government, and the newspaper. These institutions are of lesser importance for the integration of the community, yet are still significant.

1. The School

The school functions to integrate the community in a number of ways, the more important ones being as follows:

a. It brings together students from throughout the county, from all backgrounds, and places them together in a social relationship. In this environment the students learn basic values and skills which they share in common. They participate together on ball teams and in clubs, and through such participation they often form friendships which cross class lines. This is not to say, however, that the students are not organized themselves according to class backgrounds. The point is that by necessity students come into contact with each other and often develop relationships between geographical areas in the county which are lasting and which give rise to increased cultural integration in the community.

b. The same situation basically holds true for the teachers in the Walnut County school, since they, too, reside in all parts of the county, yet work together in the school environment. The local teacher's organization holds regular meetings and the teachers share a lounge where they meet

during their free periods. Here again, face to face contact between teachers who are from diverse backgrounds further functions to integrate the community.

c. The school board, as noted before, is made up of seven elected representatives from the school districts in the county. It meets on a regular basis and again allows for the members from the geographical districts of the community to discuss problems related to the county's educational needs. The county, as opposed to any specific settlement in the county, is the focus of attention by virtue of the fact that there is only one school in the county. This, in itself, lends to the integration of the community.

d. Parents and other community residents are sometimes brought together for special school activities such as the Halloween Carnival, the graduation exercises, and the sporting events. These activities, as well as the PTA, bring the community residents together for a common purpose and thus adds to the integration in the county.

It should be remembered that the school, as previously indicated, is not the focus of attention in Walnut County as is sometimes the case with rural schools. It does, however, contribute in the above mentioned ways to a "community feeling" even though there is no special affinity by the community residents to the school itself.

2. Voluntary Associations

Voluntary associations contribute to the integration of the community in two primary ways:

a. Membership most often is made up of town and rural residents who work together to achieve common cultural goals, and;

b. Many of the associations' activities center on community betterment projects such as assistance to indigents and the attraction of industry to the county.

A further integrating function may be seen in a recent activity one of the voluntary associations promoted. This organization held a supper for the members of the Business and Professional Women's Club and their husbands, the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, and the Ruritan Club. Some 150 persons attended this meeting from these organizations. Here, then, is a further example of the integrating function of the voluntary associations in Walnut County.

3. Recreational Activities

A distinction should be made here between two types of recreational activities in Walnut County. First, there are those large-scale activities that attract great numbers of people to a central location. Examples of such activities are the county fair, the homecoming, and the horse and tractor pulls. Second, there are those activities such as antique collecting clubs and auctions that attract smaller numbers of people. Both are important in the analysis of cultural integration in the community.

The county fair and the homecoming activities draw the greatest number and diversity of people from throughout the county. Both are concerned

manifestly with drawing together the varied people in the county, and both contribute to a feeling of "community" by the residents. The homecoming is a one day affair, and one week later is the three-day county fair.

Several thousand people lined the main street in Leveetown for the 1969 homecoming parade, and before the start of the parade there was ample time for visitation among friends. The parade itself was community oriented, since it consisted of floats by a number of churches and clubs in the county. There was also a bicycle, a horse, and a tractor section in the parade. In other words, participation in the parade was geographically widespread.

Emphasis during the homecoming celebration was placed on the fact that Walnut County is a home for its residents; a home that all are proud of. It focused on the unity of the community, and in this sense functioned in a real way to promote a feeling of unity among county residents.

The county fair presented a somewhat different atmosphere in that its duration was for three days. Interested persons from throughout the county brought in their products for display and judging, and while attending the fair, people from all over the county visited with each other in this informal social environment. Men sat on their tractors and discussed farm problems and the merits of their farm machines. Women congregated in the food display areas to visit, and children played together on the school yard or enjoyed the rides that were provided. Here again there was exhibited a feeling of "our community" and there was much intermingling among the county residents.

Both of these activities contributed greatly to the integrating of the community, but because of their short duration their impact was not as great as, for example, the churches. These two activities could be viewed as a "yearly community solidarity event" as they focused on the unity of the county more than any other single activity. This is due to the fact that they drew the greatest diversity of people from the county, but only for a short period of time.

The tractor pulls and the horse shows contribute to the integration of the county only in that they attract large numbers of people from throughout the county and while there people have an opportunity to be with friends who live in other parts of the county.

The widespread nature of antique collecting and auctions in the county has already been discussed and need not be repeated. It is worth noting, however, that these activities also bring county residents together. This is especially true for auctions.

Auctions are held on the farms that are being sold. The auctioneer normally stands on a flatbed trailer and the various items that are for sale are handed up to him. The participants stand around this trailer to bid on the items they desire to purchase. What is important, however, is that these events allow for a great deal of interpersonal communication. There is always a constant chatter from the crowd as well as from those persons who are not interested in buying the items for sale.

Recognizing the importance of these sales, the Ruritan Club began to send out their converted bus to sell refreshments and food. This bus often became a focal point for visitation.

The popularity of auctions in the county can be attributed to the enjoyment that county residents receive from being with their friends, and this function contributes to cultural integration in the county.

4. The Newspaper

The Walnut County newspaper is widely read in the county and contains news relevant to county affairs. Between seven and ten settlements in the county report the activities that have taken place during the week, and these columns are read by many. Also, any news that is of county-wide interest is reported in the newspaper. It is truly a local paper.

Because of the paper's wide circulation, and because of the nature of the news that is reported therein, the county's newspaper contributes greatly to cultural integration in Walnut County.

5. County Government

County Government contributes to cultural integration in the sense that it provides a legal code and a system of law-enforcement for the county. It is also important in that the Democratic party is the majority party in the county, and affiliation with this party cross-cuts geographical and class boundaries. Its integrating function normally comes to the forefront during those periods when county elections are held and there is party support for particular

candidates for the county offices. In this light, county government could become a disintegrating institution if the Republican party on the State level continues in office and gains support in Walnut County. At the present time, however, this does not seem likely.

The Pot-Luck Supper.

Many of the institutions mentioned above coordinate their group activities around a pot-luck supper. The church socials, the Walnut County Fish and Game Club, the Ruritan Club, and the Business and Professional Women's Club include a pot-luck supper as an important part of their regular and special meetings. Generally speaking, each member of the organization brings a dish he believes will be popular with the other present. Sample dishes that are brought are spaghetti, fried chicken, vegetable casseroles, meat loaf and a variety of cakes and pies. These dishes are then placed on a large table for the persons to select from. It is common for those who consume these dishes to brag about the quality of the food, and the ultimate quality test is for the dish to be completely consumed.

The pot-luck supper is conducted in an informal manner which allows for extended face to face social interaction. It functions, therefore, to provide an opportunity for friends to visit to discuss problems and share ideas. Generally, the social atmosphere during such occasions is light with a great deal of joking and laughing, much of which is focused on an individual present at the function (Lundberg 1969: 23).

The consumption of food is normally an integral part of organized social meetings in Walnut County and because such events draw county residents together, it is an important social linking activity in the county.

What is implied in this section is that any type of activity that brings persons from diverse backgrounds and geographical areas of the county together into a face to face relationship, and any news disseminating device that is county oriented and that has a wide circulation, functions to integrate the community. Presently there are many such activities in Walnut County, and those reported in this study reflect only the more important integrating institutions in the community.

CHAPTER IV

A NEW DISINTEGRATING FACTOR IN WALNUT COUNTY

No community is perfectly integrated and there are degrees of integration present in various communities. Moreover, there is no precise measure which quantifies the level or degree of integration, but at the same time it is known that external influences in a community can be extremely disruptive to its integration.

Up to this point this study has pointed out a rather high degree of integration in Walnut County. This is true mainly because of the geographical location of the county away from the main highway arteries, and the smallness of the community. With the construction of the Black River Reservoir, however, these two factors will undoubtedly be changed.

The construction of dams and the resultant influx of permanent residents and pleasure seekers is an example of a potential disruptive element to community integration. One does not have to wait, however, until the reservoir has been completed before disruptive occurs. The mere potentiality of the event has its disruptive effects.

This portion of the study will focus on the Black River Reservoir and its early impact on Walnut County. Presently there is support and opposition to the construction of the reservoir, and this fact has resulted in a measure

of disintegration in the county. The ways in which disintegration has occurred and is occurring will be delineated along with the residents' perceived benefits and costs of the reservoir.

A. History of the Proposed Black River Reservoir

The idea of damming up the Black River to make a reservoir is an old one. At first the idea was proposed to prevent flooding, as Leveetown is situated at the fork of two rivers and has been susceptible to periodic flooding. Previously the residents of the town anticipated a flood every few years and were warned in advance of its imminence. On these occasions people would take all of their possessions to the second story or would tie them to the ceiling and would then move to high ground. After the floods they always returned to clean up and resume their normal routine.

The year 1937 is remembered as the year of the flood. It was then that two floods were recorded over a four-day period. Just as residents were cleaning up after the first flood, the second one hit. Some of the older business owners still display the highwater mark inside their stores. The flood waters reached eight and ten feet in some parts of town and residents vividly remember travelling through town in boats and cleaning six inches of mud out of their homes and businesses.

Flooding is not a problem only to Leveetown; these same waters flood the best bottom land, destroying crops and spreading Johnson grass. Since this land is the best for farming, many of the good crops are completely

destroyed during these times. Furthermore, the further downstream one goes, the more severe the problem. In fact, the county seat of Oak County is "flooded every year", yet the people continue to return to their homes year after year.

It was in the late 1930's and early 1940's -- just after the big flood -- that the idea of building a dam was proposed. The objective at that time was to prevent this frequent flooding along the Black River. The idea was rejected, however, in favor of a less expensive and extensive project, that is, constructing a levee around the town in order to protect its inhabitants. This project would only benefit the Leveetown residents, but was followed through to its completion in 1948. The town residents paid for the levee through an annual levee tax, and they continue to pay this tax for the maintenance of the levee.

The levee, however, benefited only Leveetown, since flooding continued in the river bottoms in Walnut County and in Oak County. Moreover, the levee did not entirely prevent flooding in Leveetown, and the fear of floods is still very much present. Since the levee construction in 1948, water has approached the top a number of times, and residents say that if it ever comes over, the force of this amount of water will "wipe out the town." Also, during periods of high water when there are large quantities of rain, water flowing down the large hill which borders one side of Leveetown presents a problem, as there is no way for it to drain out of town. On occasions farmers and the Corps of Engineers have had to bring in water pumps to pump the accumulated water over the levee. The fear of flooding continues to be present in the minds of Walnut County's residents.

This was one of the reasons for renewed interest in constructing a dam in Walnut County. In 1964, the United States Corps of Engineers proposed to Congress that preliminary studies be made for the construction of a dam on the Black River. The primary motives for this proposal were, first, to prevent flooding and, second, to provide recreational facilities for Kentucky residents, especially those located in Big Town. The proposal was approved and studies are continuing to this day in the area.

Several community meetings were initially held to inform the residents of the Corps of Engineer's plans. Reactions at these early meetings were mixed; there were those who actively opposed the dam and those who were in favor of its construction. In between these two groups were a large number of people who were not sure whether they were in favor or not.

At one of these meetings the Corps of Engineers' representative spoke of the potential economic benefit for the community and showed slides of other dam sites to support his hypothesis. "After this meeting no one was against the dam." At least the vocal opposition was reduced. As will be brought out, however, opposition to the dam is still very much present in the community.

For five years now the idea of a reservoir in Walnut County has been present. During this time most of the community residents have formed definite opinions concerning the benefits and costs of the project. Viewpoints on the potential impact of the dam range from great visions of grandeur to utter destruction of the community. One thing is certain, the very idea of a reservoir

in Walnut County has affected, differentially, the minds of the people. It continues to be an integral aspect of conversations.

What then, are the ideas concerning the reservoir and how has the proposed reservoir affected the people in the community? We begin first with the perceived benefits.

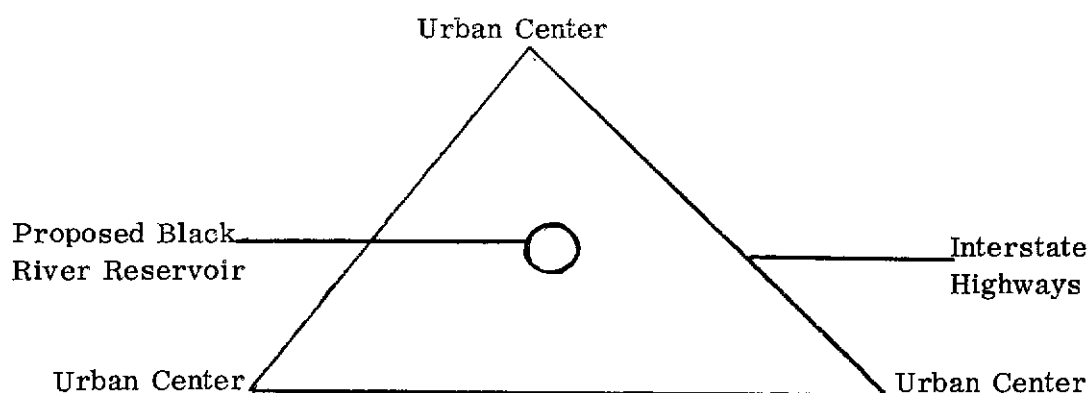
B. Perceived Benefits

Leveetown businessmen generally agree that unless something is done to improve their business volume, they will be forced to go out of business. It is generally felt that the amount of business they presently do is not sufficient to support their families. Even with the consolidation of businesses in the county, businessmen are no longer able to earn adequate incomes. They refer to the fact that the population is decreasing each year, and if the trend continues they will not be able to survive.

One businessman summed up the economic condition of Leveetown in this way. He spoke of an area in the United States that suffered such a severe flood that the government declared it a disaster area and said, "that's what's going to happen to Leveetown. They'll declare it a disaster area, and it won't be because of any flood. It'll just wither away."

The businessmen perceive a great influx of tourists and permanent residents to the county and point to this as their only "salvation". One said that the proposed Black River Reservoir will be easily accessible to three million people as it is situated in the center of three urban centers and is

surrounded by a network of interstate highways. "Fifteen minutes off any one of these highways a person can be on the lake." The following map was drawn to illustrate the strategic location of the proposed reservoir.



It is perceived that the tourists who come from these areas will bring in their money and "what money they spend in the area will turn over seven times in the community;" thus, all will be benefited financially from the reservoir's construction.

Furthermore, since the Black River Reservoir will be only 30 minutes away from Big Town, population 400,000, many of these people will want to build either permanent homes or weekend cottages, since they will be able to commute to work. The fact that already many of Walnut County's residents now commute to Big Town was cited as the likelihood of this occurring. This, it is believed, will alter the tax base in the community. It is thought that the acquisition of this land by the Federal government will initially hurt the tax structure in the community, but in the long run the county "will be helped." (Some of the residents feel that the government should help the county financially through this interim period.)

The primary perceived benefits on the dam were generally centered on the economic reasons. Economic benefits, therefore, are seen as the most important reason for the construction of the reservoir. Second in order of perceived benefits came the control of flooding. Perhaps this fact is assumed, but it has received far less attention than the economic benefits.

One farmer said that he would be directly benefited from the reservoir. His water supply comes from the Black River and the reservoir will mean that he will have a controlled, clean supply of water, as the water will settle in the reservoir and will then be released at a constant flow.

Very few rural residents were actively supporting the reservoir. Many were in favor of its construction, but were hesitant to be vocal in the matter, for some of their friends will be negatively affected when their homes

and farms are taken. Those rural people who were in favor cited most often the control of flooding as the main benefit.

C. Perceived Costs

Opposition and anxiety about the proposed reservoir comes primarily from, but is not necessarily restricted to, the rural residents. As mentioned previously, those opposing a dam are not as vocal as those in favor, but are just as important.

The opposition and anxiety center in two main areas: (1) the acquisition of land by the Federal government and the forced relocation of some fifty families who live in the river bottom, and (2) the fear of undesirable changes.

1. The acquisition of land by the Federal government and the relocation of families.

Probably the most widespread anxiety is concerned with when the government will purchase the land for the reservoir and what will be paid for this land. As brought out before, it has been five years since the Corps of Engineers started studies in the Black River Basin, and since that time the people in the directly affected areas have wondered when the project will become a reality. Most are resigned to the fact that it will be built, but the question is "When?" Since they are not sure when it will be built, they are fearful of making any improvements on their land for fear of losing money when it is finally purchased. Many say they would like to repair fences or homes, but are sure that if they do they will not be compensated when the government

eventually purchases their land. Thus, they say that their 'places' are slowly deteriorating and they are sure they will not be paid the money they deserve when the land is finally purchased.

Furthermore, because they do not know when the project will be implemented, they cannot make any future plans. "You can't buy another piece of land until you have cash", and, therefore, all they can do is wait. They are confident they will take a "beating" no matter what happens. Almost all speak of the need to know in advance what the government is going to do so they can begin making definite plans. If they are forced to rush, they say, they will make bad decisions and "profit-makers will make all the money."

The government has assured those directly involved that they will receive a "fair price" for their land and that "nobody will get rich", but those whose land is to be purchased are sure that they will not be able to purchase an equivalent piece of farm land elsewhere in the county. "Good farm land is simply not being sold nowadays", and even if someone decided to sell to a person who had to relocate, the owner would "jack up" the price, thinking that the government had given them a tremendous amount of money for their land. One man gave the following analogy: "If you sell your car for three times what it's worth and then try to buy another car at six times the original car's worth, you come out in the hole. The same thing happens when you sell land and houses to the government and try to set up in another location." As a result, they are convinced that many farmers in Walnut County today will be

forced out of an occupation they love. "These people love the soil. It's all they know", or their farm size will be cut back to the extent that it will not be profitable. "Even if you were able to purchase a piece of land somewhere else, who would want to try to farm a place that was divided -- one piece of land here and another twenty miles away."

It is estimated that some fifty families will have to be relocated as a result of the reservoir construction. Approximately half of these people reside in Walnut County. The question of where these people will go becomes a critical question; the shortage of houses in Walnut County has already been discussed. It is also thought that those individuals who will be affected the most will be the tenant farmers who are now living in the homes of the land owners who built new homes along the highways when they were constructed. The tenant farmers, in other words, will simply be left without a place to live and work. Their only perceived alternative is to move to Big Town, hoping to find employment there. Presently there is no consideration given by the community on what will happen to these people. The prospect of Federal housing in Leveetown has been rejected as simply "Federal encroachment" and not necessary. As yet, what happens to these people is not perceived as a problem.

The idea of the dam and future land acquisition has altered the lives of many residents, especially the older people who are directly affected. Many of these individuals are presently living in homes they have lived in all their

lives. Some, in fact, are living in the homes of their parents. For these, the prospect of relocating is an extreme anxiety-producing situation. This factor coupled with the continuing uncertainty as to when they will have to move has already brought a number of undesirable consequences to the community.

One informant, for instance, lives on a 100-acre farm in the proposed dam area and will lose his home and farm. The farm is situated off the main road overlooking the Black River Valley and his nearest neighbor is one-fourth mile away. He enjoys greatly the natural beauty of the area and the solitude he has found from living there.

Three years after studies were begun on the project this man suffered a stroke, and five months ago he suffered another one. The cause of this illness has been directly attributed to the anxiety of the prospect of being forced to move off his land. (The anxiety has led to high blood pressure and high blood pressure to the stroke, it is reasoned.) This man still has hopes that he will be permitted to remain on his land, but the uncertainty of the situation is quite upsetting to him. "I'd give \$1,000 right now if they would tell me I could have my house and this shade tree. That's all I want." Friends fear that the continued uncertainty of the situation will eventually cause his death.

In another situation the proposed reservoir is said to have been the cause of the death of a man and his wife. "This dam has already killed some people, and it hasn't been started." The informant said that an elderly man and

his wife had retired and moved into the area to "live out their lives." They were "happy and contented;" they had many friends whom they could call on during times of stress. "This dam thing came up and they worried themselves sick over it." The informant's wife told him that he should go by to check on them because she had heard they were "feeling real low." "This was about two years ago. I went by and they were sitting on the front porch crying over the prospect of having to move." A few months later the wife died and soon after her death, the husband died. "They would have lived longer if it hadn't been for this dam."

It is generally felt that the older people will suffer the most, since they are "set in their ways" and it is difficult for them to change. The younger people can adapt more readily to the changes; they don't have so much tied up in the land."

Many of those who will be directly affected by the reservoir have resigned themselves to the fact that they will have to "move over for progress," but the anxiety about when they will have to move and the prospect of having to find a place to live have been great. It is the indecision that produces the stress.

It has been noted in a number of cases that post-relocation involves particular kinds of stress. Fried's (1963) "grieving for a lost home" syndrome that he reported on, and Scudder's (1968) analysis of the effects of relocation on adults and children in Africa are cases in point. What we find in Walnut County, however, is an "advanced" grieving for a lost home which

carries with it stresses that have been reported in post-relocation situations. Grieving, in other words, preceeds the actual acquisition of land and the physical relocation of people, and the quality and quantity of the stress in this situation seems to be commensurate with the post-relocation stress that has already been reported.

In regard to the loss of land and the expectation that those who must relocate will not be able to acquire new lands, it is worth noting that there is obviously a conflict in values between the Federal government and the people directly involved in this matter. The Federal government has only one objective in dealing with the local people, that is, the acquisition of land to make way for the construction of the reservoir. This acquisition is to be carried out following a purely economic model. The county residents own land the government wants, appraisers will determine the value of the property, and the people will be compensated accordingly. The individuals involved will have no say in the matter and they must relinquish their land to a superior power. (Litigation is possible, but generally is ruled out by the people because of the costs and time involved in such court cases.)

On the other hand, a number of Walnut County residents who will be directly affected by the reservoir view land exchange as an ideal solution to their loss. It has already been brought out that small farmers value owning their own land because of the independence it affords them. They reason that if they are forced to sell, they should be compensated to the extent that they

will be able to purchase an equivalent piece of property so they may continue their farming operation. This will only be possible if the government pays them a sufficient cash settlement for their land.

Euler and Dobyns (1961-62: 203) described a number of cases in which the Federal government and three Indian groups arrived at solutions regarding land acquisition to make way for hydro-electric plants. These cases were unique, however, in that the government was dealing with Indians on reservations in the United States as opposed to dealing with individual land owners. At the same time, in two of the three cases discussed, direct land exchange was considered a suitable solution. It was suitable because the Indians could transfer "to their new land base the sentiments and beliefs with which they had regarded their former homeland" (Dobyns and Euler 1961-62: 204).

As noted before, the problem in the Walnut County case is that the parties involved fear displacement as opposed to an exchange. If the government does not compensate them to the extent that they can afford to purchase new lands, the farmers will be forced to leave preferred occupations.

In regard to the anxiety and uncertainty caused by the lack of knowledge on when the reservoir is to be constructed, it should be noted that stress situations such as this have been recorded numerous times in the past and specific recommendations have been made in dealing with such problems. Alexander Leighton (1945: 261-62) dealt with a similar problem while working

for the War Relocation Authority, and his comments are pertinent in this instance. He said that:

"...frustrations, difficult decisions and uncertainty are part of life and...no administrator...can make himself responsible for the fortitude that individuals must have in order to live. However, it should also be realized that while some of these general types of stress are always found wherever there is life, they are not always present in such quantity and of such quality as to seriously threaten the emotional and mental equilibrium of most individuals exposed to them. The prevention of excessive stress is not only an administrative responsibility, but a very practical requirement for effective operation."

Much of the stress described in Walnut County could at least be minimized if the Corps of Engineers would devise some method for communicating directly with the Walnut County residents. Because there is no such communication, rumors regarding the date of construction, costs of construction, how the government will acquire land, and many others are constantly being formed. These rumors, many with negative tones, contribute to the anxiety that is already present in the community.

Finally, the individuals who will have to relocate are at the mercy of "outsiders". They are a people who have prided themselves on being capable of controlling their own lives and who are proud of the fact that they are independent, self-sufficient, and hard working. They are also a people who have generally distrusted the Federal government. Now they face this great force which they know little about and which has crucial control of their lives, and there is absolutely nothing they can do about it.

2. The fear of undesirable changes.

For many, change itself is undesirable. As one man said, "to be truthful about it, I don't want Walnut County to change. If it wasn't for the people below the dam, I wouldn't want it". Also, some feel that the reservoir will destroy community life. "We have a close community here. Friends even help me discipline my children and I do the same for them. If my son gets out of line I expect my neighbors to let me know or correct him on the spot. This is a nice, peaceful community and I'm against the dam. People don't realize what's going to happen".

The fact that people do not realize what changes will occur once the reservoir is completed is cited as a reason for the amount of support it is receiving. "If they knew what changes would take place they would be fighting the dam," and the reason they do not realize the potential changes is that they "are so tied up with the old way of life they just can't see what will happen."

There are a few individuals who perceive great changes in the area. "Ten years from now you won't be able to recognize this place," and "the potential of the dam is fantastic," are characteristic comments, but these people are in the minority.

There are also those who are against the dam and who offer specific reasons for their opposition. A few of these reasons are as follows:

- a. The dam will bring in a host of outsiders, many of whom will not be assets to the community. "All the dam will do is make this place a hang-out

for undesirables." It is thought that these people will be bringing in alcoholic drinks and will upset the community residents. Many feel that the county will go "wet" once the reservoir has been completed and this is looked on with disfavor by a segment of the population.

b. Contrary to many businessmen, some believe that Leveetown will not be helped as a result of the dam. "The town has no room to grow, and besides, there is already talk that someone is going to build a shopping center near our place, out of town. This will make Leveetown a hole." In other words, outsiders will capitalize on the reservoir and local citizens will not be benefited.

c. The reservoir will destroy the natural beauty of the county. "This is the most beautiful place I have ever been, and I can't bear to think of them covering up that beautiful land with water."

d. The best farm land, river bottoms, will be covered up, thus taking it out of production. A few perceive that this will hurt the agricultural economy of Walnut County.

e. The price of land will go so high that local residents will not be able to purchase it, even if they so desired. Outsiders are already purchasing land in the area and are paying "fantastic prices for it." "One farm on Little Creek was sold for \$90,000.00 a few months ago and just recently it was sold again for \$130,000.00" This land is also taken out of production as Big Town residents are "buying up the land as an investment and for tax purposes." "All

they want to do with the land is hold onto it, hoping that it will increase in value."

f. Three cemeteries will have to be moved and "people don't like to think about this."

g. One person speculated that the reservoir would divide the county in half and because of this separation, certain portions will be virtually isolated from the rest of the county; therefore, it is possible that the county will lose its identity. This possibility is further heightened when one considers the overhead expenses that many small county governments are now operating under. One writer has proposed that such expense could be "... notably lessened through some type of county consolidation," and this is feared in Walnut County (Hoiberg 1955: 135).

h. One church will be cut off from the rest of the community. The present road leading to this church will, when the waters have filled the valley, run directly into the reservoir and those many county residents who commute to the church will be without a church. In fact, the entire settlement is likely to lose its identity. "Blue Ridge just won't be home anymore after they build that dam."

The above-mentioned reasons for opposition to the dam are discussed and debated often in the community. Moreover, the prospect of a reservoir in Walnut County has tended to divide the community into two camps and has already been a disruptive force. Discussions are often rather heated as

emotions on either side of the argument run high. Primarily the division in the community between those in favor of the dam and those opposed to the dam is as follows:

Those in favor:

1. Businessmen
2. Farmers down-river who are flooded every few years.
3. Young people
4. Big Town pleasure seekers.

Those opposed to the dam:

1. Older rural citizens
2. Individuals who will be relocated
3. People who fear change
4. Individuals who will lose portions of their farms but will retain their homes.

A few Walnut County residents agree that many changes will result once the reservoir is finally completed, and the community will have to take the initiative in making these changes as smoothly as possible. Future foreseen changes are primarily in the following areas:

1. Schools. The anticipated influx of new permanent residents from Big Town will cause changes in the school system as the future migrants have been accustomed to urban schools which have broader programs and superior facilities. There is even talk of the necessity of building a new school.

2. Churches will have to adjust their programs to the influx of not only permanent residents, but also the pleasure seekers. Presently no plans are being made, but one church sees this as a potential problem.

3. The government structure, county and city, will have to become more professional as tax revenues increase and the increased problems associated with the migrants become a reality. This is particularly true in the area of law enforcement and zoning regulations.

4. The economy will undergo drastic changes as farm land is taken out of production and new sources of revenue come to the forefront.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

One major objective of this research has been to describe Walnut County as a whole, rather than to concentrate on particular aspects of its way of life. This approach naturally is limiting in that it describes the whole in a somewhat superficial sense and thereby spreads thin the in-depth analysis of particular aspects of the society. In other words, what has been attempted has been an explanation of the interrelationships of the parts of a sub-society in an American community in order to provide data suitable to future analysis. This approach does not imply, however, that in-depths studies of particular aspects of a society are not necessary. They compliment each other and should go side by side.

The main theme of this study has been that the culture or sub-culture under study is integrated to some degree and that intervention into that culture by some outside force in a planned change program will be disruptive to that culture. The extent of the disruption cannot be determined until intervention has actually taken place and a re-study can be made. On the other hand, potential disruptive effects of planned change programs can be, as has been delineated in this study, brought to the surface.

The Corps of Engineers has been working on the plans for the Black River Reservoir for five years. During this time it has held several meetings in the county to attempt to sell the project to the people. The selling job has centered on the potential economic benefits that the county is likely to accrue.

At the same time the Corps has been conducting advanced engineering studies on the feasibility of the reservoir. Presently this aspect of the study is working under a \$236,000 appropriation. The Corps, in other words, has determined that the reservoir is to be built, and it is concerned with minimizing local conflict in order to achieve its objective. Up to this point the selling job has been effective.

The social scientist believes that any directed change program such as the construction of reservoirs, should include a study of the social system before, during, and after the actual construction. He also realizes that often planners become enthralled with their plans and neglect local attitudes and the larger social system. The planner's concern with the social system is often limited to attempts to persuade the people to come to their viewpoint, as opposed to understanding the social system in order to minimize conflict and plan with the people directly involved.

The recent concern with ecology that is widespread in the United States should be an example to planners that they can follow. Not only is there the natural environment which will be affected in reservoir construction, there is also the social environment which consists of a dynamic relationship

among individuals and institutions. A lack of concern with the social interrelationships is a lack of concern for human beings.

The social scientist's role is to present social facts and evaluate the likely effect of various policies, and his accuracy in making evaluations of potential consequences is increased only when actual field study is made possible in planned change situations. There is very definitely a need for a closer working relationship between planners and social scientists. It is only through a multi-disciplinary approach where a study of the social and natural environment is made that the individual's rights may be protected. This is the need in directed change programs.

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